

FOR THE MORAL GOOD ?

*The Government Scheme to unite Convicts with their
Families 1818 - 1843*

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This Thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other higher degree or post-graduate diploma in any University and to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except when due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

J. Parrott

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INTRODUCTION

*"The Violent Separation of the Ties
Which Bind a Man to his Wife."*

The Edinburgh Review 1834

This Thesis will examine some of the effects of transportation on the family and the efforts of the British Government to counteract the evils and problems created. This was achieved through the introduction of a Government scheme to provide free passages to Australia for the wives and families of certain convicts.

When husbands were transported their wives and children became a burden on the Parish to which they belonged. As the funds for Poor relief were acquired from the Poor rate, levied on the local landowners, these gentlemen supported the scheme to provide passages for the families to follow their husbands and fathers. There were other ways in which this could be achieved - the families could be sent as fare paying emigrants, some managed to go as Government sponsored emigrants and a few worked their way out.

The scheme was a well regulated plan to provide for family reunion at the expense of the British Government as an indulgence to well-behaved, established convicts who were able to support their families.

In the early days of transportation many wives were allowed to accompany their husbands to New South Wales (which included Van Diemen's Land). This practice created problems and was discontinued in the early 1800's.

In 1812 the Select Committee on Transportation found that the proposed system of placing female convicts in a Penitentiary on their arrival would diminish the available supply of women and thought this "an additional reason for affording increased facilities to the wives of male convicts who may wish to accompany or follow their husbands to New South Wales." (1) It was considered to be an acceptable way of providing the Colony with more women, although Earl Bathurst expressed concern that the arrival of possibly dependent women would be an additional expense to the Colony. It was expected that these women "being of good character and industrious" (2) would be able to support themselves. In 1814 Governor Macquarie reported that a large number of wives were receiving support at great cost to the Government. (3) He recommended that wives should not be allowed to join their husbands unless the men could give proof of their ability to support them. In 1816 it was decided that appropriate Returns of Requests from convicts should be transmitted to the Home Government. (4) In Van Diemen's Land the scheme was slow to get going. A batch of requests made in 1815 were refused

1. British Parliamentary Papers 1812 Vol. 1 - xii p. 584

2. Historical Records of Australia I vol. vii p. 539

3. *ibid.*, p. 269

4. Historical Records of Australia III vol. xi p. 120

on the grounds that the practice had been discontinued due to "the variety of Applications of a similar nature received and the Expence thereby incurred." (5) However, on Saturday 5 April 1817 The Hobart Gazette reported that "Returns should be occasionally sent home of such convicts who may have applied for permission for their wives to join them" and commented "we have no doubt this measure, which is so full of humanity will be the means of exciting to industry those whose misfortunes in our Mother Country have unfortunately doomed them exiles." (6) Both Sorell and Arthur were convinced of the benefits of the scheme as a means of promoting reformation and industry among the convicts.

Sorell genuinely believed in the advantages of the scheme and forwarded large batches of applications. In December 1821 he sent the applications of 45 convicts to the Colonial Office and stated that the presence of wives and families helped to create habits of industry and reform. Even the acceptance of their Petition and the expectation that their families would join them caused an immediate

5. ibid. vol. ii p. 150

6. Hobart Town Gazette and Southern Reporter

Facsimile Reproduction of Vol. i & ii

11.5.1816 - 1.6.1816 Platypus Publications, Hobart.

change of conduct. (7) A year later he wrote that he believed it was the single measure most likely to produce reform in "that Class of People." (8) The Rev. R. Knopwood was not supportive of the scheme. In giving evidence to J. T. Bigge he stated that he did not think that many wives were permitted to join their husbands and not many applications were made. (9)

In March 1823 the Navy Office wrote that they had received a letter from the Lords' Commissioners of the Treasury with instructions to provide a ship "to convey 45 families, wives of convicts and 80 of their children" (10) together with other passengers. The "Jupiter" appears to have been the only ship chartered expressly for that purpose and she arrived in Hobart on 6 November 1823. Sorell had to instigate an enquiry on her arrival in Hobart due to the unruly behaviour of some of the women on board who had threatened the Surgeon-Superintendent and other government passengers. (11) The bad behaviour was later attributed to both the wives of convicts and other free women and a

7. Historical Records of Australia III, vol. iv p. 44

8. *ibid.*, p. 50

9. *ibid.*, p. 366

10. Reel 942 PC1/71

11. Historical Records of Australia III vol. iv p. 105

special Order was issued to the Surgeon-Superintendants that if the women did not obey the orders given them that the Governor may prohibit them landing. (12)

When Lieut. Governor Arthur took over the administration of the Colony he recommended the continuance of the system (13) which he too saw as a means of promoting reformation, good behaviour and industry amongst a small section of convicts. Arthur sent a fairly consistent stream of applications to the Colonial Office and, like Sorell, his support for the scheme was centred round its beneficial effects to the reformatory aspect of transportation.

The numbers diminished considerably during the administration of Sir John Franklin and no evidence of his attitude towards the system has been located. The scheme was discontinued sometime in 1842. The notes on the application of William Wagstaff forwarded on 14 March 1843 state that the application cannot be complied with. "It is understood to be Sir James Graham's desire that the practice of providing Free Passages to Australia for the

12. Instructions to Surgeon-Superintendants on board

Convict Ships proceeding to New South Wales or Van

Diemen's Land. Clause xii. Reel 4594 Adm. 97

13. Historical Records of Australia III vol. v p. 677

Wives and Families of convicts should be abolished." (14)

The policy of transporting convicted criminals to the Colonies caused social disruption and economic hardship to local communities in Great Britain. As the Colonies developed, concern was expressed at the imbalance of the sexes. Only one convict in seven was female and the presence of women was believed to be necessary to prevent perversion of the morals of men and "to provide breeding stock." (15) From the Colonial viewpoint the scheme to provide free passages to the wives and families of certain convicts was intended to help redress the balance of the sexes and to be an incentive to married convicts to adopt habits of industry and morality.

In Great Britain economic considerations were paramount and it was feared that the practice of granting a convicted man the indulgence of being reunited with his wife and family at government expense would undermine the terrors of transportation.

14. Reel 977 PC1/97

15. Hughes, R., The Fatal Shore

Collins Harvill, London 1987. p. 244

This thesis will examine the scheme devised for the free passage of families and investigate the attitudes and situation of those involved. Attempts by special groups to influence the administration of the scheme and its success in terms of the numbers applied for, the numbers sent and the problems encountered will be assessed. Although the scheme ended sometime in 1842 it was re-introduced in the late 1840s and this second phase will be briefly outlined in the Epilogue.

CHAPTER 1

OUTLINE OF THE SCHEME AND ITS ADMINISTRATION

"It is however a most eligible way of providing the Colony with women and one which may with very great advantage be much extended."

Gov. Macquarie, Select Committee on Transportation 1812

OUTLINE OF THE GOVERNMENT ASSISTED SCHEME

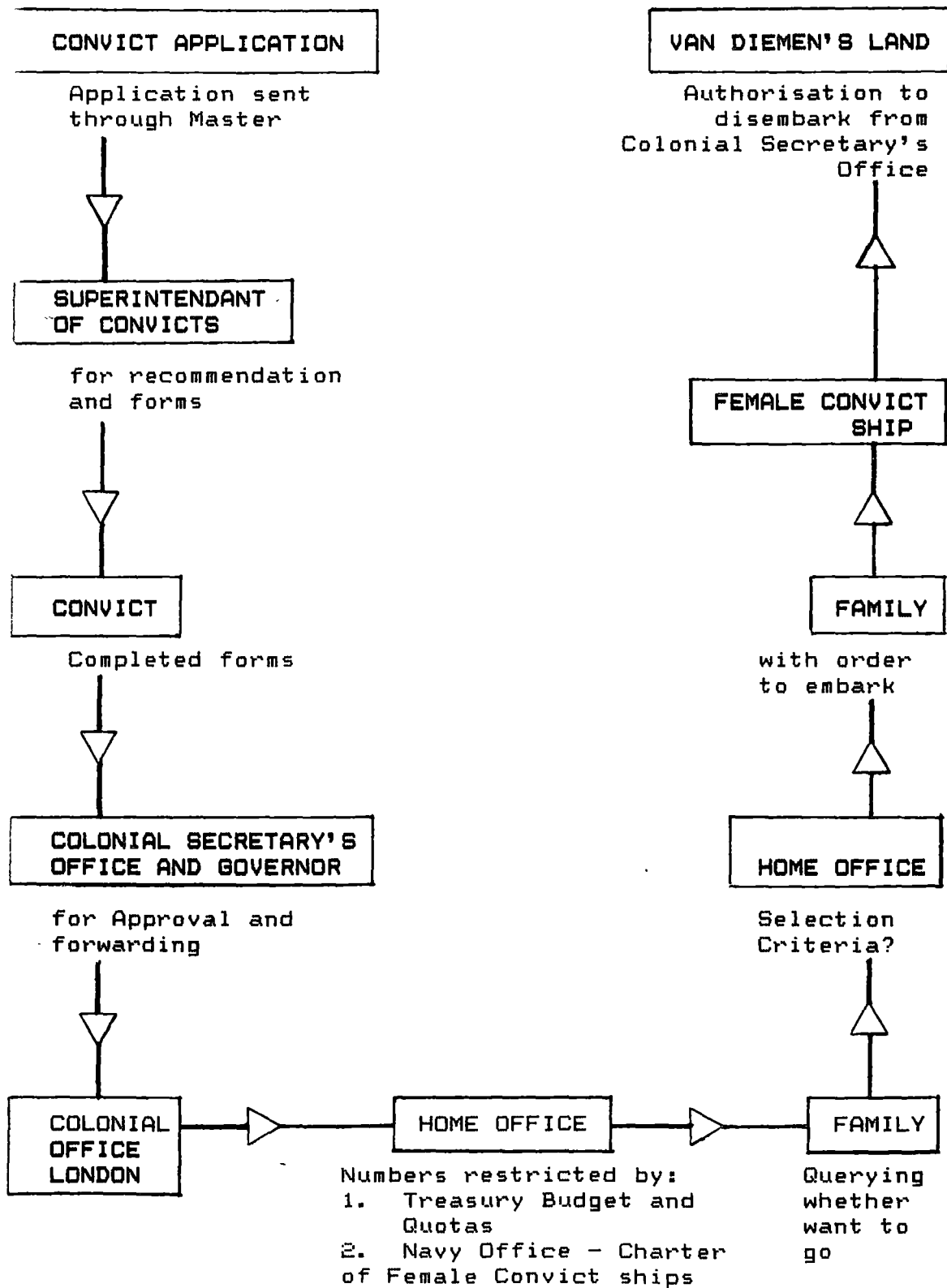


FIG 1

An outline of the scheme has been pieced together largely from the documents contained in the Privy Council records. Most of the different phases and aspects of the scheme have been verified, but two areas remain problematic. The selection criteria and the restriction on the numbers sent remain undetermined, but an attempt has been made to assess what is known. After the scheme was officially introduced in 1819 the Regulations were strictly adhered to by the British Government, although there seems to have been some laxity on the part of the Colonial administration.

The Home Office administered the scheme and appear to have adhered strictly to the Regulation that "no Person shall be allowed to join Relatives, who may be Convicts there, unless a Recommendation and Certificate has been transmitted by the Governor of New South Wales to this Country, that the Convict so applying has conducted himself with propriety, and is able to support his Family on their Arrival in the Colony." (16) This Regulation was amended slightly in the mid 1830s. (17)

16. Reel 945 (Privy Council Records) PC1/74

17. Reel 970 PC1/88

In consequence of a Representation from the Governor of New South Wales, that the Wives and Families of Convicts were frequently, on their Arrival there, left entirely at the Expence of the Government of that Colony, from the inability of the Convicts to support them, a Regulation has been adopted, that no Person shall be allowed to join Relatives, who may be Convicts there, unless a Recommendation and Certificate has been transmitted by the Governor of New South Wales to this Country, that the Convict so applying has conducted himself with propriety, and is able to support his Family on their Arrival in the Colony.

Secretary of State's Office,
Home Department.

[Enl.]

Henry

John Phillips

Hamble District,

Your most obedient

Son,

I am,

Arrival in the Colony.

properly, and is able to support his Family on their
the Convict so applying has conducted himself with
Governor of New South Wales to this Country, that
mendation and Certificate has been transmitted by the
Officiaries, who may be Convicts there, unless a Discom-
has been adopted, that no Person is allowed to join
Stability of the Convicts to support them, a Regulation
Expense of the Government of that Colony, from the
were frequently on their Arrival left entirely at the
the Governor, that the Wives and Families of Convicts
had been, that, in consequence of a Representation from
to proceed to New South Wales, to join you and

Application for a Free Passage.
I am to acquaint you, in reply to your

Henry Moore

Witcham, 9 Jan 1831

Note: The original of this letter is in the possession of the Hon. Secy of State.

In 1834 a letter in reply to an enquiry concerning the wife and family of a convict being sent out at Government expense stated "This regulation is strictly adhered to in all cases and until it has been fulfilled of which due notice will be given your request cannot be complied with." (18) Government departments were often subject to inefficiency and incompetence. A Magistrate wrote observing that his letter had obviously not been read as the reply was irrelevant. "I cannot refrain from expressing my surprise at the slovenly way in which the business in this department of the office seems to be conducted, your printed letter having just as much to do with the question I ask as it has with the North Pole." (19)

In 1826 there was a conscious deviation from the Regulation. "There is only one instance on record in this office of a wife being sent out at the Public Expense with a convict - and that was the case of a woman who gave very useful information against a gang with whom her husband was concerned, which rendered it unsafe for her to remain at home and a compliance with her Petition to accompany her husband was granted." (20) The case in

18. Reel 961 PC1/83

19. Reel 966 PC1/86

20. Reel 945 PC1/74

question probably concerned John Fear who had petitioned the Home Office for mitigation of his sentence in 1819. Fear, "a Market Gardener (who) until the present charge always maintained an honest and upright character in all his dealings" (21) was convicted for having a forged bank note in his possession. Fear being "conscious of his guilt, and with a desire of atoning for the same" (22) gave information which led to the arrest of others involved in distributing forged Notes. His wife was "the principal means of detecting and bringing to Justice" two other main ringleaders in the gang. Mrs Fear "offered her assistance to the Bank under the instructions of her Husband.. (and) after proper inquiry into her Character, and finding it unexceptionable, she was employed under the superintendence of the officers of the Bank and the police." (23) Around 1820 forgery was of great concern to the Authorities. It was a capital offence and many executions took place of those convicted of forgery. Fear's Petition to Lord Sidmouth was supported by the Governors and Directors of the Bank whose influence could have ensured the granting of his Petition.

21. Reel 938 PC1/67

22. ibid.

23. ibid.



No.

COLONIAL SECRETARY'S OFFICE, VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

November 1831

APPLICATION of *Richard Darby* who was tried
Manchester sentenced for *Twelve Years* and transported
on the Ship *Phoenix* which arrived at *Robert Town* in *December*
1829 for his Wife and Family to be sent to Van Diemen's Land.

Wife's Name, *Mrs Darby*

Children's Names and Ages, } *George Aged 14 Years Lucy aged 10 Years, Charles*
aged 5 Years and Edmund Aged 2 Years

Place of Residence, *Potsen*

Parish, *Potsen*

County, *Hampshire*

To whom known in England *Mr John George Chyrist and Druggist*
Queen Street Ipswich and Mr John Wyatts Gentleman
of the same place. —

I hereby certify, that *Richard Darby*

has the means of supporting his Wife and Family on their arrival in this Island, and I hereby further undertake that they shall be no expense whatever to the Government, after their arrival in this Colony.

The scheme devised was as follows:

The convict had to petition the Superintendant of Convicts to have his family sent out. He was responsible for checking the convict's record and ascertaining whether the convict would be able to support his family. If he recommended the application he sent the official form to the convict to complete and return to the Colonial Secretary's Office. It was then passed to the Governor for his approval and sent to the Colonial Office in duplicate.

On receipt at the Colonial Office the forms were passed to the Home Office to be processed. The Home Office contacted the wife asking her if she was willing to go and what children she wished to take with her. The letter emphasised that this preliminary contact was not an authorisation to go.

On receipt of the letter the wife had to notify them of her willingness to go, usually through a local Magistrate, Churchman or Overseer of the Poorhouse and probably had to include character references.

If she was selected she would receive an authorisation to embark on a female convict ship. The authorisations located give the families very little time, around two weeks, to prepare themselves for embarkation.

Secretary of State's Office, Home Department, Whitehall,
having received
from the Governor of
a Recommendation for granting Mrs.
permission to join her
Husband in that Colony, desires that she will inform
the Under Secretary of State
for the Home Department, as soon as possible, whether she
is disposed to accept this Indulgence; and also to state
the Names and Ages of those Children whom she is desirous
of accompanying her to
in order that Arrangements may be made for the
Accommodation of herself and such of her Children as
may feel disposed to grant
Permission to proceed to that Colony, in a Vessel which
will be fitted for that Purpose in a short Time; but she
is not to consider the Indulgence as granted until she
receives a further Communication from this Office;
and she must distinctly understand that if, on Her
Arrival in the Colony, her Husband should not be
eligible, from good Conduct and Length of Service, to
receive the Indulgence of a Ticket of Leave, she must make
up her Mind to live with the Person to whom her husband
is assigned, or otherwise obtain her Livelihood, until the
proper Period for Indulgence arrives.
Boys whose Ages exceed 10 Years cannot be allowed to
accompany their Mothers.

The family then had to get themselves to the place of embarkation, Woolwich (in England) or Cork (in Ireland). This Journey was often paid for by the Parish as the cost was usually beyond the means of the family.

Once on board the ship the family was well cared for. They received generous rations, compared with those they may have been receiving in the Poor house. (24) On the early ships the children received the same clothing as that issued to the children of the convicts (25) and were able to attend the school if there was one.

On the arrival of the ship in Hobart the women were disembarked. Their husbands had to apply for an authorisation to disembark the women, who then either were able to go and live with their husbands immediately or else were taken to the Master's property. If the wives and families had not been collected when the ship was due to sail on, the women may have been placed in the Female Factory (26) or at Bellvue House, (27) the Female Orphan School in Davey Street. Some families were transferred to another ship and taken to Launceston or Sydney.

24. See Comparative Tables of Victualling. Appendix 1

25. Clothing Issued to Children. Appendix 2

26. CS01/368/8375

27. CS01/746/16104

Secretary of State's Office, Home Department,
 Whitehall, 9 May 1830

The Ship "Hellsch"

being appointed to convey the Persons named in the
 Margin hereof to Van Diemen's Land
 they are desired to be on board the said Ship, which
 is lying at Woolwich, on or before the 15th day of
 May Instant, if their Health should be such
 as to allow of their undertaking the Voyage: They
 must be cleanly, and properly clothed, and provided
 with additional Articles of Wearing Apparel for the
 Voyage.

M^{rs} Elizabeth Reader 40
 John Reader 11
 Sarah Reader 4

The Rev. Jⁿ Fleeton
 Melbourne
 Roxton

The two problematic areas are that of numbers to be sent and the selection criteria.

Considering that the number of female convict ships sent to Hobart averaged two a year between 1820 and 1842 (28) the numbers that could be sent were limited. The ships were primarily for female convicts and the numbers of free women (wives of convicts) was limited by the space available for them and the cost. No indication of the amount allocated for this purpose has been found, but from 1837 letters from the Admiralty to the Home Office indicate that estimates and quotas were in existence. In November 1837 a letter requested a statement of the probable number of male and female convicts and their children and wives of convicts and their children who may be ordered to be conveyed to New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land and Bermuda during the year 1838/1839 (29) The estimate for 1842 - 43 was twenty wives of convicts and thirty children from Great Britain and ten wives of convicts and thirty children from Ireland (30) which demonstrates the low numbers estimated which appear to bear no relation to the number of applications received.

28. Appendix 3a and 3b

29. Reel 964 PC1/85

30. Reel 975 PC1/90

The wives and families of convicts were very low priority, as documentation concerning the "Mary Anne" shows. (31) The ship had room for 160 adults but was chartered to take 140 adults. (32) Confusion arose on embarkation as sixteen convicts and one child beyond the number fitted out for had been embarked and a letter requested their removal from the ship so that she could sail. (33) The only way extra convicts could be provided for would be by using the room allocated for the free women and their families, in which case no free women could be taken. Further alterations were made and additional accommodation made for the extra convicts. The "Mary Anne" arrived in Sydney with 142 female convicts. (34) This could have been an isolated incident, but it demonstrates the element of chance for the families in procuring a passage on the female convict ships.

31. In 1839 the "Mary Anne" was chartered to take 120 female convicts and 20 children, 10 females, wives of convicts and 20 children. Reel 966 PC1/87

32. Reel 966 PC1/87

33. ibid.

34. Bateson, Charles The Convict Ships 1787 - 1868

Library of Australian History, Sydney 1988 p. 391

The number of applications sent to the Colonial Office from Van Diemen's Land varied greatly from year to year. (35) In many cases it has been possible to trace the progress of a particular family from the date of the application to the date of arrival and it seems that the average time it took was between one and two years, with several notable exceptions. Of the ten convicts who applied for their families in May 1827 (36) one of them arrived in the "Borneo" in 1828 (37), three of them in the "Lady of the Lake" in November 1829 (38) and one of them in January 1830 on the "Guildford" via Sydney. (39) Two families on the "Lady of the Lake" had their applications sent as late as October 1828 (40). The applicants of October 1828 (41) were lucky, as twelve out of the sixteen were successful, which is a high proportion as in

35. see Appendix 4a for numbers.

see Appendix 4b for names of convicts who applied.

36. Reel 239 CO 280/16

37. CS01/344/7875

38. MB 2/39/1 p. 44

39. CUS 30/1

40. Reel 940 CO 280/17

41. Reel 240 CO 280/17

in October 1831 (42) only five out of 25 appear to have been sent. This leads on to the next problematic area, that of selection.

With applications exceeding the number of families able to be sent there must have been a selection procedure and an attempt has been made to ascertain a basis for selection.

In 1835 two female convict ships arrived in Hobart, the "New Grove" which arrived in March and the "Hector" which arrived in October. (43) Both of these ships carried wives and families of convicts and the documentation available is comprehensive enough to permit a sound basis for assessment.

Three possible areas of selection have been tested. Firstly length of sentence given to the husband. The husbands of the fourteen families who arrived received varying sentences. Four husbands were sentenced for

42. Reel 248 CD 280/30

43. Assessment of selection criteria:

"New Grove"

Adm. 3206 101/56, CSD 1/790/6926 (for arrivals)

Reels 257, 955 for place of origin and sentence.

"Hector" Adm. 3197 101/32, MB 2/39/1 (for arrivals)

Reels 257, 258, 259, 954 and 976 for place

of origin and sentence.

seven years, three for fourteen years, five for life and the length of sentence given to two of the husbands has not been verified. The second area looked at was the size of the family. Here again there were no conclusive findings. Five of the families had four to six children, eight had one to two, and one no children. The other area assessed was that of county of origin. Of the fourteen families, two came from Middlesex, two from London, one from Newgate and the other eight from places as wideranging as Scotland to Winchester and the West Country. As none of these factors show any positive trend for selection is it possible or conceivable that those willing to go were selected by ballot? The wives of private soldiers going to the Colonies were restricted to nine wives per 100 soldiers and were ballotted for. (44) What is evident is that the number of places was fixed, regardless of the number of applications that were received and that the numbers were thus strictly regulated and varied considerably from year to year.

The administrative problems associated with the scheme were considerable, both in Britain and the Colonies. The problems in the Colonies hinged on the ability of the convict to support his wife and family on their arrival,

44. Reel 250 CO 280/32 p. 383

which was the key point of the scheme. Inadequate appraisal of the convict's situation and record by the Superintendent of Convicts led to many wives arriving to find that they had to work to support themselves and their families or that they had to receive rations or place their children in the Orphan School. The Governors, particularly Arthur were often placed in an awkward position on the question of whether to assign the husband to the wife- this will be discussed in Chapter 4. It appears that there was no adherence to a fixed criteria of conditions prior to application and Arthur was inclined to over-ride the recommendation of Spode, Superintendent of Convicts. When William Massey petitioned for his wife and six children to be sent he had only been a year in the Colony. Spode noted that he did not think Massey's Master could calculate on keeping Massey in his service as he did not know his character. He also observed that a "Lifer ought to serve four years before they receive this indulgence." (45) Arthur noted on the Petition "I believe the Principal Superintendent is right, but having a doubt I am disposed to give the Petitioner the benefit of it. Approved" (46) Massey's family arrived per the "Frances Charlotte" in 1833. A similar situation arose in the case

45. CS01/377/8578

46. ibid.

of Daniel Webb sentenced for Life who arrived per the "Royal George" in 1830. Spode noted that although his Master had signed the bond to support the family that Webb had not been in the Colony long enough to receive the Indulgence. (47) Arthur however "thought it better to approve" and the family arrived per the "Frances Charlotte".

A further problem was the likelihood of the applications getting lost or mislaid in transit to the Colonial Office. In 1828 Huskisson of the Colonial Office wrote to Arthur concerning two dispatches of 1827 which had been received without the enclosures. In a complicated statement Huskisson wrote "As the Originals of these Dispatches have not been received at this Department, and, as the Enclosures which accompanied them have not been transmitted in Duplicate, it has been impossible to take the Applications in question under consideration." (48)

Even when the application was received there were obvious problems in contacting the wives and families of the convict. When the husbands were transported many families found themselves in a precarious situation. They may have gone into the Poor House or had to leave the district

47. *ibid.*

48. 60 17 (vol. 11) p. 120

and several families could not be found. Usually the families were contacted through a responsible member of the community who also had to provide a character reference. If permission was received financial assistance was often required to outfit the family and convey them to the docks for embarkation.

Once on board the ship the women had to contend with the rigours and dangers of shipboard life and the possibility of sickness. On arrival in the Colony they needed all the strength they possessed to cope with the new conditions, the isolation and the stain of being associated with convicts.

Although the scheme appears to have been well-thought out there were several areas of difficulty and problems which will be discussed further.

CHAPTER 2

OFFICIAL ATTITUDES

"Nothing can be a greater stimulus and Guarantee to good conduct and Industrious habits in a poor Convict in a Foreign Land, than his having his wife and Children to share the fruits of his Industry, wean him from his Errors, confirm him in his amended pursuits and attach him to his Home and his own Fireside."

Mr Richardson, 1832

Reel 956

As the outline of the scheme (Figure 1) shows there were many different groups involved in its management. Control of the scheme rested with the Colonial and British Government. The middle-men were the masters of the convicts in the Colonies and the Justices of the Peace, Magistrates, Churchmen and Overseers of the Poor in England. At the lowest level but key figures were the transported husbands and the wives left behind in England. All these groups had different attitudes towards the scheme which were governed by a wide range of interest from economic, moral and class based concerns to those of self-interest and desperation.

The scheme attempted to control the numbers sent from Britain, whilst the Colonial administration were responsible for ensuring that the convict had the means to support his family. Most problems arose over the status of a convict and their inability to support their families which was due to inefficient Colonial administration. Regulations existed as to the time a convict had to serve on good behaviour before getting a Ticket of Leave which gave him the opportunity to work for himself and family, four years for a seven year sentence, six years for a fourteen year sentence and eight years for a Life sentence. Following the problems that arose over assigning husbands to wives(49), Josiah Spode,

49. see Chapter 4

Superintendent of Convicts noted on many applications that in his opinion "men for Life should always serve four years before their families are sent for, for although the Master certifies ...it is no security for the Government. (50) The application form did not state that a convict should have his Ticket of Leave, merely that he was able to support his wife and family and the employer had to certify that they would not be a charge on Government. Spode noted the problems that arose when Masters, who had agreed to support the families, refused to do so when they arrived and suggested that "it perhaps would be well to have some greater security on the part of the Master. (51) He recognised that "the paper now signed by a Master...is not a document upon which you can compel the party to fulfil what he engages to do." (52) Arthur suggested the Crown Solicitor should prepare a Bond which would be uniformly acted on. No evidence of this has been found. Very few families met with difficulties on their arrival and the scheme as operated presented few financial problems. Only a few cases have been located, such as

50. CS01/377/8578

51. ibid. p. 36 29 September 1831

52. ibid. March 1831

the Foyle family who had to go on rations (53) and several children who were placed in the Orphanage. In the Colonies the scheme appears to have operated advantageously and the economic and moral considerations were equally balanced.

The British Government adhered strictly to the regulations and recommendations forwarded from the Colonies. They were governed by economic rather than moral concerns but it has been difficult to assess the official attitude. The scheme was discontinued in 1842 but re-introduced in 1847 (54) and documentation prior to this gives some indication of the attitude of the British Government. Earl Grey, in supporting the re-introduction of the scheme stated that its abandonment was not due to a change of opinion as to the "wisdom or justice of it, but solely by considerations of economy." (55)

At the middle level were the masters of the convicts and their willingness to support the application and forward it to the Governor was a crucial factor. Of course it is impossible to ascertain how many employers refused to support the scheme, either deliberately or through ignorance of its

53. Appendix 6

54. The Hobart Gazette 20 September 1847 p. 940

55. CO 201/370

existence. One application located was not signed by the employer as he "did not wish to part with the man, which he thought he should be obliged to do if his wife came out."

(56) Those who did could have been motivated from genuine humanitarian and religious principles or from self-interest.

The arrival of the wife and family of an assigned convict could be a great advantage to a settler. Many of the wives were skilled domestic servants or farm workers and their older children also provided a source of cheap labour. The settler was able to acquire reliable, skilled, free servants at little cost to himself by supporting the scheme.

On a similar plane in Britain were the Justices of the Peace, Magistrates, local Churchmen and the Overseers of the Poor. Their prime concern was the cost to the Parish of supporting the deserted and destitute wives and families of transported men. The workings of the Poor Law and Parish relief have relevance to this Paper but cannot be investigated in detail. Some wives were left without Parish relief if they did not belong to the Parish in which they were living when their husbands were transported or imprisoned. These families were either removed to their Parish of origin (which made locating them difficult) or sent away to become vagrants.

In 1829 the officers of the Parish of Yatton in Somerset wrote to the Home Office requesting information as to whether the family of William Hippersley could be "transported" after their husband and father. (57) In 1831 they had received a letter from Hippersley saying that his recommendation had been sent and requested information as to how it could be accomplished as the "Churchwardens and Overseers of said Parish (were) at a great expence for their maintenance". (58) Two years later they stated that Hippersley had informed them "that a Memorial with the proper recommendation has been drawn and signed by the Governor of this Colony in September 1831 and forwarded to the Home Office." (59) Lists of applications sent in October 1831 (60) and January 1832 (61) do not include one from William Hippersley, so possibly it was rejected by the Colonial Government. Mrs Hollands and Mrs Jenkins from Rochester in Kent had ten children between them who were "in the Poor House ...where they belong

57. Reel 949 PC1/77. William Hippersley received a Life sentence in 1827 and was sent to Van Diemen's Land.

58. Reel 954 PC1/79

59. Reel 954 PC1/81

60. Reel 250 CD 280/33

61. ibid.

supported by the Parish at a very heavy expense and being females are likely to be a burthen for many years, whereas that circumstance would make them an acquisition to the Colony." (62) The case of these families is somewhat exceptional as the Overseers of the Poor were able to enlist the support of the husbands' employer who was over in England. When the Parish finally received the authorisation for them to embark it cost them thirteen pounds, twelve shillings and six pence. (63)

In 1839 the Curate of a Parish wrote on behalf of John Cowley's wife "a most sober honest and industrious woman, yet in some measure a burden to the Parish which she will probably be as long as she continues in this Country." (64)

With the advent of Government sponsored emigration, particularly female emigration, many Parishes argued that the wives and families should be eligible for assistance. They were often willing to contribute towards the costs of emigration in order to relieve themselves of the continuing burden of expense. The arguments used to support the

62. Reel 962 PC1/87. see Appendix 6 p. xxxii

63. Halling Overseers Accounts 1826 p. 165/12/2

64. Reel 969 PC1/87. John Cowley was convicted in 1837

at Peterborough and assigned to George Hull, Hobart.

Petitions were based on the sex, age and occupation of the petitioners. The Clerk to Shrewsbury Gaol presumed that "Government will be glad to forward the Mother and family in consequence of their being all girls except one and of useful age." (65)

When William Jones and John Hiron were sentenced to transportation in 1834 the Deputy Recorder of the City of Oxford applied for the wives and four daughters to be granted a passage "all are healthy vigorous persons according to their sex and years and might prove a useful addition to the population of any Colony." (66)

Sarah Strong and family were recommended as being "an useful acquisition to the Colony from experience in agricultural pursuits" (67) Although these attitudes are important in presenting another facet of the effects of transportation they do not appear to have influenced the administration of the scheme.

Some Petitioners emphasised the reformatory nature of women. A Petition sent on behalf of Agnes Charlton in 1831

65. Reel 964 PC1/85

66. Reel 958 PC1/82

67. Reel 977 PC1/91

emphasised that "were she resident there along with him (her husband) that he would become a useful and respectable member of society seeing as he does the punishment that Awaits Crime". (68) Currently Agnes was an object of distress and unable to get work due to the depressed state of Trade. (69)

Another area of concern was the vulnerability of young married women left on their own. Louisa Cully, a young women with one child was considered a suitable candidate for emigration as a "young destitute woman" following the conviction and transportation of her husband in 1832. "The situation and youth of the Female in question are such as to render it almost certain that she must shortly become an outcast from Society if permitted to remain apart from her husband." (70) Only by allowing her to go with her husband could a young and defenceless female be saved from temptation and perhaps ruin.

The effects of transportation on married couples received considerable attention in the Edinburgh Review as they were often felt more by the "innocent wife...left at home friendless and destitute"(71) than by the guilty husband.

68. Reel 953 PC1/85

69. ibid.

70. Reel 955 PC1/80

71. Edinburgh Review January 1834 p. 359

The Magistrates at Grantham were torn between the hardship faced by the "wives (sometimes innocent) and the children generally innocent" (72) and their duty to punish the criminal. A letter received by the Parish from William Woodcock stated that he was now well established and had forwarded an application for his wife and family. "He describes himself as now far better off than ever he was at home so that the whole punishment has fallen on the wife and children." (73) The wife couldn't manage the family on her own, was an inmate of the Workhouse and was subjected to a miserable state of poverty. (74)

The transportation of married men caused great disruption to family life and considerable cost to the local community. The attitudes of those in authority show concern for the economic and moral well-being of those who were reliant on them for a livelihood, as well as for the economic cost to the local Parish. The Government assisted scheme enabled few poor families to be reunited, but for those fortunate ones it provided an avenue for reunion which would otherwise have been denied them.

72. Reel 953 PC1/79

73. Reel 967 PC1/86. Woodcock was convicted at Lincoln in 1837 and transported to Van Diemen's Land.

74. *ibid.*

CHAPTER 3

ATTITUDES - HUSBANDS

*"With the blessing of God I will see
you again for the thoughts of you and
the children is able to break my heart"*

John Lynch, 1823

Reel 943

A.G.L. Shaw finds that "only about a quarter of the male convicts were married, and some doubtless had no wish to see their wives again." (75) but concludes that the numbers involved in the scheme were not insignificant. It is possible to recognise four categories of husbands: men who did not wish to see their wives and families again; those who assumed their marriage was automatically terminated on transportation (76), were ignorant of the scheme or lost touch with their wives; men who through guilt and/or pride did not want their families with them until they were free and able to support them; and those who were anxious to have their families go with them or join them as soon as possible. It cannot be proved that many married men did not wish to see their wives again or that they did not return to England in order to escape the responsibility of a family but of course it is a possibility. In 1834 Elizabeth Barnes petitioned to go to her husband John Barnes with her five children, following letters received from him "wishing (her) to go out to him." (77)

75. Shaw, A.G.L., Convicts and the Colonies

Faber & Faber London 1971. p. 229

76. See Chapter 4

77. Reel 958 PC1/82. John Barnes was convicted in

Sussex for 14 years and sent to Van Diemen's Land.

He was one of the agricultural rioters of the 1830s.

In 1837 a Vicar in Sussex wrote to the Colonial Office concerning the general Pardon given at the end of six years to the 246 convicts transported in 1830 & 1831 for Machine Breaking and rioting. (78) The Vicar is concerned that "as from the period which has elapsed since the Duke of Richmond first informed us of the Pardon which had been granted, he ought to have been home long ago." (79) Letters received from the Colony "have induced a slight suspicion that owing to the good conduct and usefulness of Barnes, his employer is attempting to keep him there " or that "Barnes himself may be a willing exile, in order to avoid the burthen of supporting his wife and family, who are at present living in my Parish in great distress." (80) As the Vicar stated there is only a "suspicion" but it is there. Other factors stood in the way of a convict returning, including lack of money for the passage and a settled life-style.

The second group includes those convicts who were ignorant of the scheme or did not know how to apply. Although as suggested in the previous Chapter there were many advantages for a settler to encourage assigned servants to apply to have their families sent out, there were undoubtedly those who did

78. Reel 964 PC1/85

79. ibid.

80. ibid.

not support the scheme. They may have been ignorant of its existence or have had moral objections to giving a convict such an indulgence. If an assigned convict was nearly due to receive a Ticket of Leave the Master may have thought that the servant would leave his service as soon as possible on the arrival of his family. Many husbands lost touch with their wives and families through the dislocation caused by transportation and communication problems. In March 1828 a letter was sent to the Colonial Office concerning Sarah Neale who had been informed by her husband that a passage had been granted to her and that she was to go to London. The writer said he had done "everything (he) could to discover the poor woman, she had in consequence of the death of her Father left her former residence." (81) Elizabeth O'Neil, whose husband was transported from Belfast in October 1840, supported herself with some help from the "Quarter to which she belonged" which was Carlisle. (82) In 1829 an Irishman applied for his wife and family but was told they could not be found. On completion of his sentence in 1836 he worked his way back to Ireland and was able to earn money on the voyage. On arriving there he found his family - wandering about the country "nearly naked and in great distress." (83)

81. Reel 948 PC1/76

82. Reel 977 PC1/91

83. FS 1836 B17

Many women did not know where their husbands were taken to when sentence was passed or to which Colony they were transported. Lack of money to frank letters and inability to write all contributed to the problem of staying in touch.

Another discernible group are those men who through guilt or pride did not want their families out to witness or partake of their punishment, or who intended to return home at the expiration of their sentence. They were no doubt men of principle and conviction two of the obvious examples being political prisoners, George Loveless and John Frost whose attitudes to their wives will now be examined.

In the case of George Loveless it is difficult to determine whether he was trying to make a deal with authority to accede to their offer to send for his family on condition he received his freedom, or whether he suffered from pride. When first approached by Josiah Spode (Superintendent of convicts) on the subject in 1835, Loveless asked whether he was about to obtain his Liberty because he had "nothing to say on the subject while he remained a prisoner." (84) In January 1836 he reiterated that he did not want them in Van Diemen's Land while he was a prisoner. He elaborated

84. Loveless, George, *The Victims of Whiggery*

Introduction by Donald A. Davie.

Cox Kay Pty. Ltd., Hobart 1946. p. 26

further that rather than "be the instrument of bringing my wife and children into the distress and misery of this Colony, such as I feel it. I will remain as I am as long as I live." (85) Loveless would not consider sending for his wife as long as he was a prisoner and had no means of supporting her. It appears that Loveless' principles, pride or even obstinacy prevented him initially from sending for his wife and family. It was not that he did not want to. "Few can imagine - experience alone teach - what it is to be bereaved of, and torn from, those who are dear to us; and who are still dearer to me than could possibly be all the treasures of the world - wife and children." (86) Either Loveless capitulated to the persuasion of Authority to send for his wife or he struck a bargain. In January 1836 he applied for his wife and barely a week later Loveless received his Ticket of Leave. In his Petition Loveless states that he has no doubt "he would be able to maintain them in comparative comfort to that which they must have experienced since his departure, their having since then been obliged to live upon the Parish funds." (87) According to Arthur, Loveless was desirous of

85. *ibid.* p. 27

86. *ibid.* p. 30

87. *ibid.*

Tallpudde July 14
1236?

My Lord.

I am greatly obliged to your Lordship
for the offer you have given me.

But I cannot think of going to my
husband. as I know he have received
a full pardon. and from what I hear

I hope to see him in a few months.

I am also thankful for the privilege
of receiving the letter from my

husband. I am, My Lord

your humble
and most obedient servant

C. Lovell

Recd 962

FIG 8

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 1 | | | 2 | | |

Reference:—

P.C.1/84

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remaining in the Colony where "he has come to the conclusion that a person can obtain by honesty and Industry a far better livelihood than can be procured in England". (88) Lovelass did not find out until September from the English papers that "the Dorsetshire Labourers were not only to be set at Liberty but able to be sent back to England free of Expense." (89) and had to delay his return until January 1837 when he knew his wife was not coming out. It appears that his initial response was due to pride and/or principles and that he capitulated and sent for his family in return for his partial freedom.

In March 1840 Chartist John Frost implored his wife not to come and join him, but to stay and care for the children as he hoped he may return home soon. (90) Frost did not return to England until 1856 and his wife who was ailing died a year later. (91)

88. *ibid.*

89. *ibid.*

90. Williams, David John Frost: A Study in Chartism

University of Wales Press Board, Cardiff 1969. p. 301

91. Harris, H.L. "The Influence of Chartism in Australia."

in The Royal Australian Historical Society Journal v.xi

1926. p. 316

Some men waited until they were about to receive a Ticket of Leave. James Robb had been in Van Diemen's Land for three and a half years before he attempted to get his family out, on the assumption that by the time they arrived he would have received his Ticket. (92) Robb's case is interesting as his Father, a convict residing in Sydney, had offered to pay all the expenses for the passage of his daughter in law and family. William Wood was transported in March 1811 and waited until 1819 when he had obtained his liberty and had some land assigned to him before he applied for a free passage for his wife and family. (93) John Barry waited until he obtained his freedom before applying for his wife and family under the Government Scheme in 1831. (94) He had received his Ticket of Leave a year after his arrival, on account of his behaviour during a skirmish with the aborigines. In an ironical twist of fate Arthur noted "I would readily approve but the Secretary of State will not allow in any cases except the applicant be a Prisoner." (95) In his Petition Barry stated that he rented a farm and was

92. Reel 945 PC1/74

93. Reel 938 PC1/67

94. CSD 1/377/8578. John Barry per "Castle Forbes" 1820

95. ibid.

was able to provide for his family, but could not pay for the passage for his wife and four children. William Lury was transported in 1816 but he waited until he had obtained his freedom in 1835 before he applied to have his family sent as Emigrants.(96) Perhaps he was ignorant of the assisted scheme for wives and families or else wanted them to come in a respectable way as Emigrants. George Mitchell showed considerable concern for the status of his wife when he sought information as to how she could join him in 1828. George hoped to take them with him "but stated that he should not like to take them with him, if by so doing he must make them partakers of his punishment... that he would not wish to have them considered in the light of convicts."(97)

Ignorance of the Regulations seems to have been an important factor in the delay in convicts sending for their wives. Many husbands wrote to their wives asking them to apply for a passage, which delayed the process, as the first approach had to come from the Colony. In 1823 William Jones wrote to his wife requesting her to go to him at Launceston Van Diemen's Land.(98) She took the letter to the local Magistrate, who wrote to the Navy Office "for information as to the proper

96. Reel 959 PC1/83

97. Reel 948 PC1/76

98. Reel 943 PC1/72 see also Appendix 5 p.xx

steps to be taken by the poor woman to get there." (99) In March 1824 the Magistrate wrote again, acknowledging receipt of the information and pointing out "that very considerable delay, probably not less than eight or ten months at least must elapse before a Certificate can be obtained from the Governor". (100) In view of the unavoidable delay the Magistrate requested that the Regulation should be dispensed with. He adds that if it cannot he will apply to the Governor "on behalf of the poor woman whose situation I cannot but pity as her hopes of seeing her husband have been much excited." (101)

Other convicts were conscious of the large emotional sacrifice they were asking their wives and families to make. William Stevenson wrote to his wife "I am glad to hear of you making application to join me in this far distant land, so far from your own native country, and having all your relations and friends to join me once more - I shall always esteem you the more for it." (102) William Dimpsey wrote to his Mary in 1833 "Thank God the time has come that I have it in my power to seek the indulgence of getting you out at the expence of Government...and I pray God give you health and

99. ibid.

100. ibid.

101. ibid.

102. Reel 953 PC1/79

strength to come with our children and I make not the least doubt we shall with perseverance in an honest and upright faith do well in this country and become Reinstated as a Respectable Family." (103)

Most convicts assumed that their application would be successful and that their wives would have little time to prepare themselves for the journey. John Baker informed his wife in 1835 that "your notice from Government will be short" (104) He is determined to "strain every nerve to accommodate you and the children" and assures her that "in this Colony industry will maintain a family much better than in England" and gives her more information on the state of the Colony. "The custom and manners of the inhabitants are much improved and religion and schools for children are rapidly advancing." (105)

The reports sent home from transported men caused great concern as they tended to undermine the terrors of transportation. In communications home the convict "will most likely exaggerate the advantages he enjoys" (106) in

103. Reel 956 PC1/81

104. Reel 962 PC1/84

105. ibid. see also Appendix 5

106. "Secondary Punishments - Transpoptation"

in The Edinburgh Review January 1834. p. 343

order to impress his friends and relatives. Another reason was to "represent his wrong doing in a favourable light..and to consider it as a sort of triumph over an adverse party, when they can show that they have no reason to regret what they have done." (107) This view may be applicable to many cases but there is no reason to doubt but that the accounts mentioned were genuine.

A letter from William Gregory in 1839 to his wife describes how he lived very well on the voyage to Van Diemen's Land - Tea and gruel, pea soup and beef or plum pudding, wine and lemon juice were given him. He asks his wife to let him know if she will come but says "If you think that you should not like to come you must say in your letter and then I will try to do something for you but I would much rather that you would come." (108) In a postscript he adds "You will think no more of being on the water after the first week than if you was on Land." (109) A covering letter to the Home Secretary from the local Vicar demands an explanation. "I cannot conceive that the statements contained in it (Gregory's letter) are correct and should therefore be greatly obliged if you would enable me to give my parishoners an official

107. *ibid.*

108. Reel 970 PC1/88 see also Appendix 5p. xxv

109. *ibid.*

statement of the manner in which convicts are treated on their arrival at their destination, for you must perceive that such a letter as this is calculated to do much mischief as it holds out an inducement to all the idle and disorderly fellows in the place to continue in their evil courses with the certainty that should they be convicted they will be better off than they are now." (110)

110. ibid.

CHAPTER 4

PAWNS, PUPPETS OR PARTNERS - The Wives

*"I am desolate without you but the
hope of seeing you will be ever
uppermost in my mind as it
is impossible for me my Dear Cornelius
to live without you."*

Anne Downey

MM 71/4

The key figures in the Government Scheme were of course the wives who were left in a state of poverty and destitution and needing to draw on all their resources and strength of character to survive. This chapter will deal with the situation and attitudes of the wives together with two other factors which directly affected the women - marriage and the question of assignment of their husbands to them on their arrival in the colony.

In most cases the condition of the wives on the transportation of their husbands was precarious but it should be remembered that the period under review is basically pre-Victorian, before the advent of the Victorian family with its rigid, restrictive attitudes. The women of the working class in the early 19th century were more vocal, more involved than their counterparts of later century. Many of them were, or had been, involved in the political and agricultural riots and as will be shown were reasonably assertive and aware of their rights. They knew their worth as workers, wives and mothers and were prepared to face the dangers of a long sea-voyage and the unknown either to escape the poverty into which they had been driven or from a genuine desire to be with and share the fate of their husbands.

The plight and condition of the deserted wives and families elicited sympathy and support from the local Magistrates and Churchmen who had some interest in reuniting the families because of the burden on the Parish. Unless the families were taken in by relatives or a benevolent employer, the Poor House and Parish Relief was all they could look forward to and this is illustrated clearly in the documents, which provide examples of women from varied backgrounds and locations.

In 1827 Isobel Easton stated that "she looks forward to the departure of her husband... with great pain" as unless she and her children were sent to him "to that distant land, she anticipates nothing but penury and destitution." (111)

Anna Maria Moss wrote her own plea to be allowed to go with her husband. "You may judge, Sir, of the pain and distress that I am suffering on my husband's account...I have not known one moments happiness since my unfortunate Husband was taken." (112) Anne Mallon attempted to support her family of four children by spinning linen yarn, but was "left in a starving condition even for the common necessaries of life." (113)

111. Reel 947 PC1/75

112. Reel 947 PC1/75

113. Reel 947 PC1/75

The administrators of the Paupers' Fund were anxious to get permission for William Miller's wife and children to follow him in order to relieve the Parish of the burden of supporting them and through sympathy for the couple. "The husband was betrayed into the crime for which he was now convicted, more through lack of employment than disposition to offend against the laws." (114) Jane Chalk wrote that after her husband was transported her friends turned their backs on her "on account of the disgrace he has brought on the family." (115)

Elizabeth Porter stated she had no support save three shillings a week from the Parish and had received a letter from her husband stating that he was well situated in Hobart and able to provide comfortably for his family. However her "extreme poverty and distress puts it entirely out of (her) power to defray any part of the expenses" for her passage. (116) The Petition on behalf of Mary Sutcliffe was signed by ten local men of respectability, The Minister, Churchwarden, Schoolmaster, Doctor and Merchants. They stated that Mary had been left in indigent circumstances, that she wanted to follow her husband and that they had

114. Reel 948 PC1/76

115. Reel 949 PC1/77

116. Reel 959 PC1/83

reason to "believe that she (bore) an unexceptional moral character and (was) altogether a cleanly, honest and respectable woman in her station of life." (117)

These cases are only a small sample of the Petitions and letters assessed. Is it possible to assess the character or nature of the wives who petitioned the Government and wrote letters in their attempts to go to their husbands? At this time working class women were "an essential part of the labour force in pre-mechanized industry" (118) but their wages "were reckoned as a contribution to a family wage rather than as the support of an independent worker." (119) Another fact noted by Thompson is that "there is evidence of their active participation in the politics of the working communities." (120) Of prime importance in looking at the nature of women is the tension between the "Damned Whores and God's Police" attitude. Women were considered and maybe considered themselves as the civilisers of man - their

117. Reel 974 PC1/90

118. Thompson, Dorothy

"Women and 19th Century Radical Politics - A Lost

Dimension." p. 112

in Mitchell, Juliet & Oakley, Annie

The Rights and Wrongs of Women, Penguin Books 1979.

119. ibid. p.113

120. ibid. p.115

Recd 952

1120

2660 6th June 1830

Sheffield Sept. 23 1830

Honored
Sir

I Sarah Smith do make my Humble
petition to your Honor for the Conscience
to Lancaster Van Diemens sent to my
Husband a Convict sent to that Place
has been there 4 years and I hope he
has conducted himself with propriety for
the time I have a great desire to go to
him if it may be granted I am young and
I hope able to undertake the Journey I am
only 23 years of age and is an orphan
I have no Parents or friends to leave behind
me my only Desire it to be with him
if I fare hardly I shall be content and
wish more to return if my Request
be granted I hope the Lord will reward
kind Benefactors with be the Prayers of

influence was seen to be reformatory and marriage enabled men to curb their baser passions. If women did not fall into this category, they were damned whores, temptresses and provocateurs who led men astray. A type of woman was identified in the early 19th century who was "more disposed (than men) to be mutinous; they stand less in fear of law, partly from ignorance, partly because they presume upon the privilege of their sex." (121) Women of this period should not be set in the stereotype of Victorian women which has become a pervasive influence on womens' history and attitudes.

Working class women of this period often had a degree of literacy, assertiveness and confidence which is perhaps surprising for women in their position. Sarah Smith wrote in 1830 that her husband had been four years in Van Diemen's Land and that she hoped "he has conducted himself with propriety for the time I have a great desire to go to him if it may be granted I am young and I hope able to undertake the journey." (122) Harriet Olive's letter, written in 1836 says that her husband is at New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land and has obtained assurance that she and her family would obtain a passage from England, but that "having had

121. quoted in Thompson, op. cit. p.116

122. Reel 952 PC1/78

The Right Honorable, the Earl Bathurst,
His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State
For the Colonies &c. &c. &c.

The Petition of Harriet Olive most humbly
shews that your Lordship, Petitioner is the unfortunate
wife of John Olive transported in ^{new} South Wales for
Life that the said John Olive in consequence of good
conduct obtained from the Lieutenant Governor
of Van Diemens Land a twelve month licence
on a promise that his wife and children should
obtain a passage from England on the Government
account - - -

That your Petitioner having had no
communication on the subject and being
most unhappy at the separation of herself
and family from her unfortunate husband - does
most fervently beseech your Lordship in
your great goodness to order a passage to
those Colonies -

And as in Duty bound, your Lordship
your Petitioner will ever Pray - -

Harriet Olive

no communication on the subject and being most unhappy at the separation of herself and family from her unfortunate husband." requested the Government to order her a passage to Hobart. (123) Harriet Westman wrote that she had made an application for herself and two children for a passage and had received no answer so was writing a second time. She asked for instructions and for information how to apply as she was left without means of support. (124) Susannah Bevan's husband had nearly completed his time and wanted her to go over. She emphasised that she was his lawful wife and had one child. Her husband had ten pounds towards the passage money and she hoped the Government would advance her the rest of the money. "I thought some arrangement might be made with the Captain of the Vessel to receive that dividend on our arrival." (125)

Sarah George wrote three letters to the Home Office in 1833 and 1834. She stated she had received a letter from her husband wanting her and children to go to him and "thought perhaps the Government might defray our expenses there." (126) She wrote for information and said that she had "no

123. Reel 966 PC1/86

124. Reel 979 PC1/91

125. Reel 969 PC1/87

126. Reel 956 PC1/81

means of my own to undertake such a voyage, otherwise (she) would not trouble Your Lordship upon the occasion." (127) Maria Harper had received a letter from her husband saying that an application had been sent for her and that "fully expecting to receive the necessary papers for my Embarkation I have given notice to leave my situation." (128)

Problems of finding out information show in many letters. Alice Mather said that her husband had sent two applications to England and continued "In my Address I therefore informed Your Honour of my inclination to go with my family but know not in whose possession the order was or to whom I should apply for instructions, how and by whose power and influence I could be put in the right way of proceeding." (129) She said the answer received was unsatisfactory and irrelevant and implored help and indulgence "for a poor woman, the Mother of four children without the help of a Father, who gives me to understand that he has it in his power to support his family well by industry and honest means and nothing remains to constitute his contentment on Earth, but the company of his wife and children." (130) Mrs Prentis applied to be sent

127. ibid.

128. Reel 955 PC1/80

129. Reel 955 PC1/80

130. ibid.

out as an Emigrant. She was informed that the funds for 1833 were exhausted. Early in January 1834 Mrs Prentis wrote requesting to know how much it would cost for her and her seven children to go. She said the family were in receipt of seven shillings per week and that "if we could get to Van Diemen's Land we could there support ourselves and in this place we cannot obtain work." (131) The above mentioned Petitions appear to have been written by the women themselves, but the Petitions written by a third party illustrate their perceptions of the women, rather than those of the women themselves.

The Petition sent on behalf of Ann McLaren in 1833 is signed by the elders of the Church and is unlikely to have been written by Ann.(132) Ann was destitute following her husband's transportation but owing to her youth and capabilities she expected an improvement in her situation if she was sent to Hobart. The writer states that "aware of the desire of the British Government to do everything possible to promote both public and individual Weal "(133)

131. Reel 957 PC1/81 Lewis Prentis was a traveller and

Manager for Mr Crowb, brewer in Hobart.

132. Reel 956 PC1/81

133. ibid.

that Ann gave her "positive assurance that she would submit to whatever bondage is deemed necessary and consistent until indemnification and reimbursement (is) made" (134) if Government advanced the money for her passage. The writer of Mrs Griffith's Petition stated that she was completely devoted to her husband and "would willingly become a slave if she could be with him." (135) Ann Grant's Petition focussed on her feelings of devotion and loyalty to her husband. "Your Lordship may easily guess how this unforeseen event has affected my feelings - notwithstanding of the situation in which my Husband is at present, I cannot divest myself of the affection which I have all along entertained for him, which no occurrence that may take place can ever eradicate - in short she is ready to suffer the greatest privations rather than be forever separated from her Husband." (136) Mary Bamber requested to be sent on a free trader - or if not on the first convict ship as she is "willing to undergo any privation if permitted to join her husband." (137)

134. ibid.

135. Reel 970 PC1/88

136. Reel 953 PC1/79

137. Reel 958 PC1/82

Since there appears to have been no attempt by the British Government to encourage or to promote the scheme many people remained in ignorance of its existence. Information was spread by word of mouth, by the gossip of the Hulks and John Henry Capper, by the husbands writing home and through misinterpreted Notices in the newspapers concerning emigration, but there is no evidence of active promotion.

Nancy Ohare saw a notice in the Public Papers "stating that Government is about to arrange Measures for encouraging Emigrants to go to New South Wales" and she sent the requisite two shillings and sixpence for the information.

(138) Unfortunately Nancy mentioned her husband was a convict and her application was passed from the Colonial Office to the Home Office "as persons under her circumstances" were not granted passages unless applied for by their husbands.

The Overseer of the Poor in Halesworth said that the wife of Stephen Ballot had received a letter from her husband telling her "that many women have been allowed to go passage free by Government." (139) He wrote to find out if there is any possibility of her going as "she cannot settle herself

138. Reel 946 PC1/75

139. Reel 956 PC1/81

so that if she is forced to stay ruin stares her in the face." (140) The District Overseer of the Poor wrote to the Colonial Office for information for the wife of John Hook. Hook had written and stated that an application had been sent for his wife and child. The Overseer had "seen in a Newspaper that a Ship would sail very shortly with convicts and the wives of former convicts for Botany Bay" but he thought it an "unlikely thing for a ship to set out on so long a voyage at this season of the year." (141) In 1828 the Vicar of Olney, Buckinghamshire petitioned on behalf of Mary Nichols. He stated that "Caroline Wright of Olney, wife of John Wright who was transported with Your Petitioner's husband and for the same crime has obtained permission from Government to go to her husband and has orders to be on Board the ship "Borneo" lying at Woolwich on the 26th instant (April) for that purpose. (142) When four men were sentenced to be transported from Nottingham Assizes in 1829 they informed the Overseers of the Poor that on application to the Home Department their wives may be allowed to accompany them - free of expense. Since all the wives and families would be chargeable to the Parish the Overseers of the Poor were anxious for information. (143)

140. ibid.

141. Reel 942 PC1/71

142. Reel 948 PC1/76

143. Reel 950 PC1/77

The Churchwarden had been informed by a neighbouring Parish "that they are about to send the family of a convict by some vessel expected to sail very shortly, the Parish officers delivering them at London into the hands of Government."

(144) He had also heard it rumoured that "females of any age and males under 10 years of age" were conveyed at Government expense.

Anna Greenbark had been correctly informed by her husband that an application had been sent for her and family to join him. (145) Edward had applied for her and her three children to join him in December 1832 (146) but Anna was not one of the six women who arrived in the "Edward" in September 1834 (147) nor has her name been found on any subsequent lists. In fact Anna did not get a free passage and what happened to her is unknown. Edward Greenbark did well for himself in Van Diemen's Land and in 1840 he remarried. (159)

144. Reel 955 PC1/80

145. Reel 956 PC1/81

146. Reel 257 CO 280/46

147. RS 131/13

148. TA file on Edward Greenbark

Yet another facet is to be seen in the perception of the women as "God's Police", guardians of morality and instruments of Reform. Whether the wives saw themselves in this light or whether it was the perception of others is open to question.

John Sanderson had been a Private in the 2nd Battalion of the Grenadier Guards when he was convicted in 1823. Sanderson petitioned to have his wife and family accompany him under the "conviction he feels, that the presence and Society of a beloved, faithful wife and Family would most materially tend to assist him in pursuing that line of Conduct, which it is his firm determination to adopt for the future". (149) The measure would also "be the means of rescuing from the horror of being left desolated Friendless to the Mercy of the wide, un pitying World an hopeless young and now unprotected Female and two small children." (150) Bridgette Dart's Petition stated that having a "great affection for her poor unfortunate husband" if she was granted a passage to him she "would endeavour to be an

149. Reel 942 PC1/71 John Sanderson was a Private in the

2nd Battalion of the Grenadier Guards. Convicted 1823.

150. ibid.

example of morality to the other unhappy females of that settlement." - an interesting view. (151) Isobel Oliver's husband had been a farmer before being transported and she was "not without hopes that both he and she may again have it in their power to exert their virtuous industry in that country to which he may be sent, for their families behalf." (152) Rebecca Wall had a similar attitude. If permitted to go "she could endeavour by honest industry not only to obtain a support for herself and child but will use every effort to assist and facilitate the situation of her unfortunate husband." (153) George Turnbull's wife was "anxious to be a partaker of her Husband's fate - Perhaps it may be a means of making them become useful members of society." (154) Joanna Carter's Petition in 1837 stated that if she and her two daughters were given a free passage to Van Diemen's Land, she would hope "to reclaim her unfortunate Husband and by her example and exertions stimulate him to that Honest Industry which will restore him and render him a consistent member of society during the remainder of his life." (155)

151. Reel 943 PC1/72

152. Reel 947 PC1/75

153. Reel 951 PC1/78

154. Reel 953 PC1/79 George Turnbull had been a soldier

for nine years and had been at the Battle of Waterloo.

155. Reel 963 PC1/85

Mary Neile felt convinced that "if once there (in Van Diemen's Land) by her exertions and the fruits of Petitioner's industry and the encouragement to her poor husband to be amenable to the laws (and) in course of some time to merit to obtain the indulgence of a Paternal Government." (156) The will and determination of these wives and their confidence of success are very evident in these Petitions.

An interesting aspect of the transportation of married men was the status of both husband and wife when one or other of them was transported. The official status of a sample of convict records finds that approximately one-fifth of male convicts and one-quarter of female convicts (157) were married at the time of their conviction, but also that a similar number did not have their status recorded. A convict's status had no influence on their punishment, which indicates that the law did not consider the implications of transporting married convicts, male and female, and the social cost and disruption it created. From the Colonial end a married female convict without her husband and family was placed in a difficult situation and

156. Reel 964 PC1/85

157. Robson, L.L. The Convict Settlers of Australia

Melbourne University Press. pps. 191, 201

there was a tension between the attitude of church, state and practicality. However, two facts have come to light which illuminate the situation. It appears from a rather sketchy correspondence with Samuel Marsden in the 1830s concerning the status of female convicts, that Elizabeth Fry had contacted the Under Secretary of State, who had informed her "that it is a law of the country that any woman who has not heard of her husband for seven years may marry again."

(158) Knowledge of this law could have led to the belief that marriages were nullified on transportation. Many women believed that if their husbands were transported they were free to marry again. When John Brigstock was transported for fourteen years his wife Ann applied to re-marry, an opinion prevailing "in the Parish to which the woman belongs that she may marry again in such circumstances." (159)

Christopher Kibble's wife applied to have banns of marriage published between her and another man. The Vicar sought clarification on her status as "a rationale appears to prevail amongst the poor that the woman may now marry."

(160)

158. Mitchell Library Marsden CY Reel 228 Vol. 1 A1992 C

159. Reel 949 PC1/77

160. Reel 981 PC1/92

Anna Maria Moss not only married but had three children after her husband was transported. (161) On the death of her second husband she applied for permission to go to her first husband who was in Van Diemen's Land.

There appears to have been an implicit understanding that women were freed from marriage on the transportation of their husband. The Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry on the Colony of NSW reported "That an idea prevailed amongst the convicts that capital conviction, followed by sentence of death afterwards commuted to transportation for life operated as a dissolution of the marriage contract. (162) The British Government appear confused, if Elizabeth Fry was correct, as Robert Peel, Home Secretary gave his opinion that "the wife of (a transported man) may not legally marry another man...without committing a felony." (163)

Certainly some in authority criticised the separation of man and wife through transportation and felt that a woman had the right to accompany or follow her husband in accordance with her marriage vows. A letter to the Home Secretary questions the right of the law to over-ride the laws of God.

161. Reel 968 PC1/86

162. Report of Commissioner of Inquiry on the Colony of New
South Wales. p. 105

163. Reel 949 PC1/77

A wife should be allowed to accompany her husband, share his sorrows and if possible to mitigate them. The writer pointed out that even though a crime had not been committed against the conubial law, the state separated legally married couples which was against the law of God. (164) George Loveless criticised the hypocrisy of the law "who have solemnly pronounced what God hath joined together let no man put asunder and are some of the first to separate man and wife." (165) Many of the wives themselves used their marriage vows as an argument to support their case. Ellen Kenworthy wrote "she should be very happy and comfortable to share the lot of her poor unfortunate husband, the said transport, be it good, or be it bad , according to the vow she made before Almighty God at the sacred hymenal altar." (166) Harriet Pearson requested "a free passage to that Colony so that I may once more see him that should have been my Partner through life." (167) Catherine McDaniel wrote that she was "bereft of her husband and natural protector." (168) Many women enclosed a copy of their marriage lines to enforce their requests. It is interesting that at a time when society was restless and changing, when political and

164. Reel 952 PC1/78

165. Loveless, *op. cit.*, p. 40

166. Reel 956 PC1/81

167. Reel 972 PC1/89

168. Reel 974 PC1/90

industrial unrest were on the increase and when concern was expressed over the crime rate, that those in authority seemed to deliberately undermine one of the stabilising institutions of society - marriage. The punishment of wrong-doers was of paramount concern and neither the reformatory nature of women, wives in particular, nor legal marriage vows were taken into account.

Whether husbands were assigned to their wives on their arrival in the Colony is another matter of debate. It has to be distinguished from free female settlers who married convict men, because that situation was treated differently. The philosophy which governed the question of assignment was influenced by the amount of indulgence a convict could rightly expect. Only by having his Ticket of Leave could he work for himself and receive wages. There were many misconceptions that grew up around the scheme. Two of the most common being that on the arrival of his wife and family a man would become free and/or that he would be assigned to his wife. In essence the two are almost the same thing. A note from the Home Office attached to a Petition in 1826 attempts to clarify the Regulations as set out in Bigge's Report. "With respect to the immediate freedom of a man in the Colony on the arrival of his wife, ... I suppose it means that as by good conduct he procures a certificate from the Governor of his ability to maintain his wife, he

gets on her arrival a Ticket of Leave, or conditional emancipation by which he is enabled to hire himself out wherever he pleases, and is in fact free in all aspects except in the power of leaving the Colony. Until he procures this Ticket he is allotted by the Governor to some free servant, by whom he is lodged, clothed or fed - but from whom he gets no money." (169) This enlargement of the conditions of assignment presents another query - if a husband was assigned to his wife he would be unable to earn money to support his family unless his wife "hired him out" and received his pay herself, since assigned servants were allowed no money. Given the attitudes of society at this time to male/female relationships and dominance it would be intolerable for a man, breadwinner and provider to be so beholden to his wife.

The problem of assigning husbands to wives was most evident around 1830. The first indication of the problem is contained in a list of six men on loan to their wives. (170) The writer says that he is uncertain "whether this is distinguished from those who are assigned to their wives" and goes on "Upon the whole I have much doubt whether it had

169. Reel 945 PC1/74

170. CSD 1/418/9373 6 October 1829

not better be gravely considered whether it is not less objectionable to Grant these men Tickets of Leave if they are deserving and to adopt the same course in all future occasions, making it a rule that if a man cannot properly receive a Ticket that he ought not to be assigned to his Wife." (171) Henry Baines "was ordered to his wife by letter from Captain Montagu to me while on board the prison ship ("The Borneo") on which his wife came out and he was allowed to be removed in consequence of her." (172) In November 1829 Elizabeth Crisp (173) applied to have her husband assigned to her in order that he could support her and the family. Arthur noted that on receipt of the Petition he was in a dilemma. "The only remedy that occurs to me in them is to prevent the Wives of Convicts from being sent out until their husbands shall be deserving of the indulgence of living with them on their arrival." (174) This statement highlights the inefficiency of Colonial

171. ibid.

172. ibid. 7 October 1829.

173. Elizabeth Crisp arrived per "Lady of the Lake" in 1829. Samuel Crisp, Life, arrived per "Earl St Vincent" in 1826.

174. CSD 1/418/9373. 20 November 1829

administration at that time. A Lifer was meant to have been eight years in the Colony before he received his Ticket of Leave and Crisp had only been about two years in the Colony when his application was accepted. If Crisp had been employed by a private settler his Master may have undertaken to support the wife and family, but he was employed as a Government Sawyer in the Public Works. Arthur wrote "I feel it very difficult to decide upon this case. I prefer however granting a Ticket to assigning the man to his wife. Let him have a ticket on the express condition of residing in the country in one of the townships." (175)

Mr Spode noted that a Lifer who received his wife out within three to four years and then obtained a Ticket of Leave was better off than those men who had to work for eight years to obtain such favor. Arthur agreed - if a convict received the Indulgence of having his family sent out it was not to be increased by being assigned to them and reprimanded Spode. "The Principal Superintendant had better well consider this before applications are sent in for approval and submit his remarks accordingly." (176)

175. ibid. February 1830

176. ibid. 16 November 1829

In February 1830 two proposals were put forward as the best way to provide for Convicts' wives and families. One proposal was that if a convict applied for his wife and he was not a Mechanic (i.e. tradesman) that as soon as his application was sanctioned he should be placed in a Government Establishment. He would be taught a trade which would make him "useful in the interior." On the arrival of his wife he should work four days a week for Government and two days a week for himself. The family would be granted single rations and a small allotment in a new township. Alternatively if they could not be employed by Government he could be sent to a settler and kept under surveillance by the Police. It was felt that these measures would assist in the reform of the convict, increase the comforts of the settlers and improve the face of the Colony. The reply was that although the plan was a good one it would be difficult to make it work.

The second proposal was that the men could be put into the Field Police and given half an acre of land in one of the townships on which they could erect a hut to live in and cultivate the land for their support. This plan was put into effect, but was limited by the suitability of the convict for the Police Force. (177)

Following the problems which had arisen the regulations were tightened up. There continued to be some disagreement between Spode, Burnett and Arthur. (178) Spode attempted to adhere to the regulations concerning eligibility for a Ticket of Leave, the ability of a convict to support his family and the enforcement of the Master's bond. Burnett did not think any wives and families should be sent for unless it was intended to either assign the man to his wife, or give him his Ticket. Arthur was so convinced of the reformatory powers of the scheme that he over-rode Spode's recommendations and approved nearly all applications - leaving the Final decision to the Home Office in Britain. (179)

Problems continued for those women who emigrated at their own expense to join their husbands. Edward Cooper arrived in Hobart per "The Elizabeth" in February 1832. Shortly after he arrived, Mrs Cooper came out as an emigrant assisted by her friends in England. (180) She petitioned Arthur to have her husband assigned to her and stated that

178. CSO 1/377/8578

179. ibid.

180. Reel 958 PC1/82. see also Appendix 6 p.xxxiv

she only came out because of Capper's assurance that her husband would "be allowed some means of contributing" to the support of his wife and child. (181) Arthur refused and Cooper did not get his Ticket until 1839. (182)

A Dispatch from Governor Burke in NSW to the Rt. Hon. Stanley confirmed that Capper was spreading misinformation. Governor Bourke wrote "that several women had come out asserting that they had been informed by Mr Capper of the Home Office that their husbands would be assigned to them..but that since the passing of the Act (2 & 3 Wm IV C. 62) he had "considered himself restricted from making such assignments" which has resulted in much distress.(183) The reply from Mr Spring Rice stated that there was no truth in the statements allegedly made by Capper. (184) According to the Regulations wives emigrating at their own expence were left in no doubt of their position. They were sent a letter which stated that if her husband was not eligible for a Ticket of Leave "she must make up her Mind to live with the Person to whom her husband is assigned, or otherwise obtain her Livelihood, until the proper Period for Indulgence arrives." (185)

181. ibid.

182. Con 31/7

183. Historical Records of Australia,op.cit., v. xvii p.341

184. ibid. p. 478

185. ibid. p. 499

CHAPTER 5

SPECIAL GROUPS AND CIRCUMSTANCES

"These men, bad as their conduct has been in the moment of excitement, yet are not of the condition of ordinary felons."

Reel 953 PC1/79

Throughout the 22 years duration of the first phase of the scheme, between 1820 and 1842, there were special groups and individuals who attempted to influence the working of the scheme and those who by-passed the official scheme and came out independently. Whilst this latter group are not the main subject of this thesis, brief mention will be made of them in order to present a comprehensive view of family re-union.

There are three main groups that will be assessed. The agricultural and political protestors of the 1820's and 1830's, the large number of soldiers who were court-martialled and transported and those wives and families who came out independently, either by emigration, working their way out or by being convicted themselves. These last cases illustrate the determination of wives to join their husbands and the lengths to which they were prepared to go.

The first group of identifiable political prisoners to apply for their families were four of the East Anglian rioters of 1816. Aaron Chevell, John and Joseph Easy and possibly Jessop were all transported for life for their part in the Littleport riots in 1816. (186) In 1817 they all applied to have their

186. Rude, George, Protest and Punishment

Oxford University Press, Melbourne 1978 p. 133

wives and families sent out and applied again in 1819, (187) but no record has been located as to the success of their application. This group were followed by the Cato Street conspirators in 1820. Following the Trial of the conspirators five men were executed and six men were transported to New South Wales. Most of the eleven men were married with families and the wives and widows petitioned with "the entreaties and tears of the fatherless and widowed" for help. (188) They requested that "if we cannot be provided for or relieved in (our) Native Country we entreat we may be sent to New South Wales where our Industry will no doubt be acceptable and which will ensure to us, at least the necessities of Life, which all our exertions here cannot procure for our distressed Families." (189) It appears that the Petition was refused, as in 1836 a letter was sent to the Home Office on behalf of James Wilson to join his father who was transported "for being concerned in the Cato Street conspiracy in the year 1820." (190) There is an element of political involvement demonstrated in their Petition which supports Thompson's contention that they should be regarded as Jacobins in their own right with "a readiness to take an active part" in the political unrest of the time. (191)

187. Historical Records of Australia III v. 2 p. 264, p. 133

188. Reel 940 PC1/68

189. ibid.

190. Reel 963 PC1/84

191. Thompson, E.P. The Making of the English Working-Class

Penguin Books 1979. p. 775

The York Treason Trial of 1820 resulted in a large number of political prisoners being transported. When the "Lady Ridley" arrived in Hobart in June 1821, she carried 22 radical rebels transported after the "Battle of Grange Moor" in Yorkshire. At the Trial ten men were sentenced to transportation for Life and twelve to fourteen years. The ringleaders, William Comstive and Richard Addy, along with Charles Stanfield and Benjamin Hanson were accused of "traitrously assembling in arms,..for the purpose of levying war against the King." (192) Comstive and Addy were former soldiers (193) and the insurrection was drawn up with military precision and planning. The plot failed and although the prisoners were found guilty the Judge was able to spare their lives as "no blood (had) been shed" and sentenced them all to transportation. The parties had been provoked "by the chilling apathy with which ministers treated the groans of a suffering multitude." The extension of mercy appears to have been "purely prudential" for fear of causing further insurrection if they were treated more harshly. (194) When the men arrived in Van Diemen's Land they received support from Sorell, who forwarded several applications for the

192. Rede, L.T. York Castle in the Nineteenth Century

Published 1831 p. 649

193. Thompson, op. cit., p. 776

194. Rede, op. cit., p. 656

wives and families to be sent out. A letter dated February 1824 from Sarah Stanfield, wife of Charles - one of the convicted men stated, that "after they arrived...they was allowed to have their wives (wives) and children sent after them at the Expencc of our Government." (195) This is confirmed in a letter from Sorell in 1824 in support of a Petition from ten of the men "as some of their families have followed them and the remainder are hoped for." (196) Some of these men received the indulgence within two years of arriving as William Rice, one of the convicted men, stated in his Petition for a free Pardon dated 1827 that "his beloved wife and 3 children" were forwarded to him in 1823. (197)

Following the uprising at Bonnymuir nineteen of the convicted weavers were transported to New South Wales. In Lavinia Todd's Petition to follow her husband, William Smith she focussed on her destitution after being deprived of her husband's support. The letter of support goes further. It stated "that ever since the people who were taken at Bonnymuir have been in prison, it has been the practice of their associates to raise subscriptions under pretence of assisting them; by which means they are enabled to keep alive the spirit of discontent and use means to increase it." (198) The families were being used by

195. Reel 942 PC1/72

196. Reel 943 PC1/72

197. *ibid.*

198. Reel 940 PC1/68

"these designing and turbulent people as victims of the severity of Government" and the writer suggested that the removal of the families would be of great benefit to the community. (199) The wives and families were seen as a threat to local stability and maybe those in Government thought that by sending the wives and families out to their husbands they could prevent political prisoners from returning to Britain on expiration of their sentence. In 1824 Sorell suggested that granting a Pardon to the men transported for Treason from York would not entice them from the Colony "as some of their families have followed them and the remainder are hoped for." (200)

The agrarian riots of the early 1830s were some "of the most explosive in modern British History" (201) and over 300 male convicts were transported to Van Diemen's Land. (202) A high proportion of these convicts were married and many of their families were thrown upon the Parish. At the time of conviction and for several years after letters were sent from Churchmen, County Lieutenants, Overseers of the Poor and

199. ibid.

200. Reel 943 PC1/72

201. Rude, Protest and Punishment, op. cit., p. 22

202. Hobsbawn, E.J. and Rude, George, Captain Swing

Pimlico, London 1993 p. 265

Magistrates of many rural counties requesting that the wives and families of the rioters should be allowed to go with their husbands. (203) The Deputy Lieutenant for Berkshire, Mr Page wrote "The heart rending expressions of some of them, when they requested that their families might be permitted to accompany them, would, I am sure, have excited great commiseration in your Lordships' mind." (204) He asserted that in Berkshire sufficient funds could be raised from private subscription or Parochial Relief, to defray the costs and suggested that the men and their families could be conveyed in the same vessel, and not be subjected to the "horror of a convict ship". It appears that Mr Page had worked out a scheme more akin to an emigration scheme for agricultural workers and did not consider this type of offense as a criminal one. In December 1831 Page wrote again and renewed his plea. He had been to London and acquainted himself with the Government scheme for the "exportation of females to the settlements in Australia." (205) He suggested that the daughters of the transported men could go out under the protection of their mothers in accordance with the plan and suggested that some costs could be met by the Parishes "to whom the destitute families are now burthensome." (206) A Magistrate from Berkshire also wrote to the Home

203. Reels 953, 954, 955 and 956

204. Reel 953 PC1/79

205. Reel 954 PC1/79

206. ibid.

Office for information as to whether the Government were prepared to send the wives and families out with their husbands. He ended his letter "In the present state of a surplus population and increasing Poor-rate, with diminishing employment for the labourer any step towards relieving all parties by emigration must be advantageous if not bought too dearly." (207) The Curate of Wilton in Hampshire wrote on behalf of the wives of the married men transported from his Parish. The wives, he stated, "suffering perhaps more than the Convicts themselves, from the loss of their husbands support and acknowledging them to be kind and affectionate parents," would be prepared to contribute towards the cost. Part of the reward offered for the arrest of the rioters had been allotted to the wives and families of the offenders which they were prepared to put towards the cost of their emigration. (208) The Overseers of the Parish of Downton wrote saying that "they had been requested by several women whose husbands have been transported for the Riots..to send them out." (209) They were going to negotiate with the owners of an emigrant ship for their passage and requested information as to the situation of their husbands. A letter from Lord Bragbrooke, Audley End

207. Reel 953 PC1/79

208. Reel 953 PC1/79

209. Reel 956 PC1/81

AN APPEAL TO THE BENEVOLENT.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE PARISH OF
BULWELL, AND ITS VICINITY.

THE humble Memorial of ISAAC BERKINS, of the said
Parish, Frame-work Knitter, on behalf of his Son
CHARLES BERKINS, and the Wife and Child of his said
Son,

Most respectfully sheweth,

That his Son, Charles Berkins, was convicted of a riotous
offence, committed during the political excitement in 1831,
and was sentenced to be banished for life to Van Dieman's
Land, in Australasia.

That in pursuance of the said sentence, Charles Berkins is
now at Poriposa, near Launceston, in Van Dieman's Land, as
a Convict Servant, in the employ of a Gentleman at that
place.

That your Memorialist is given to understand, that by the
regulations of the Colony, Convicts are entitled to their free-
dom upon the arrival of their Wives and Families.

That the Son of your Memorialist, being separated from
his Wife and Child, a prey to the utmost sorrow and parental
anxiety, wishes to have them under his care, and to support
and maintain them, whilst his Wife is equally anxious to put
herself under the protection of her Husband, and share his
misfortunes, though cut off for ever from her native Country,
her Kindred, Relatives, and Friends.

That your Memorialist, as becomes his duty to his Son, to
his Daughter-in-law, and Grandchild, is anxious to fulfil their
wishes, but is prevented by his narrow circumstances from being
enabled to pay the Passage Money for so long a Sea voyage
as to New Holland, is under the necessity of imploring the
benevolent aid of his considerate Neighbours and the Public
kindly to assist him in these his endeavours, for which good
and Christianlike act your Memorialist will ever feel the
utmost thankfulness, and with the most heartfelt gratitude,
will pray for your and their welfare here and hereafter.

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in Essex on behalf of two men from his area stated that the Parish officers would pay all the expenses in conveying the wives and families to the colonies. He stated that he was sure it could be accomplished without deviating from the regulations and felt that the example would be followed by others. (210)

The idea of public subscription to help pay the costs of family reunion was not confined to agricultural labourers. In 1835 an advertisement appeared in the Nottingham Journal on behalf of Charles Berkins, convicted of a riotous offence during the political excitement of 1831. The Memorial, placed by Mr Isaac Berkins, father, is made to the inhabitants of the Parish and surrounding area and it raised almost enough for an emigrant fare. The local Magistrates wrote to the Home Office requesting clarification of the statement concerning granting freedom to the convict on the arrival of his wife and expressed fear that the public were being imposed upon and money obtained under false pretences. (211)

The concern expressed by local communities at the effects produced by the transportation of the husband/father of a family show considerable sympathy for the offender. Many of them did not consider these men as ordinary criminals and sought special benefits or circumvention of the regulations.

210. Reel 954 PC1/79

211. Reel 959 PC1/83

If "few accepted the Government's offer to have their wives and children brought out to them from England" (212) it was due to the strict adherence to the regulations by the British Government and their reluctance to dispense with it. Local communities were anxious to maintain the family unit for three main reasons - the cost to the Parish of maintaining the destitute families, genuine sympathy for the wives and children and concern for the working conditions of the agricultural labourer.

The Tolpuddle Martyrs were considered in a different light to the earlier agricultural rioters by the British Government. The activities of their leader, George Loveless and his attempt to organise the labourers was "an important landmark in the history of trade-unionism." (213) Loveless was separated from his comrades and sent to Van Diemen's Land while the other five went to Sydney. He is the only convict located who was persuaded and invited to apply for his family even though he was not eligible for a Ticket of Leave and had no means of supporting them. As soon as he sent in the official application he was granted his Ticket. It is possible that the

212. Rude, George, The Crowd in History - A Study of Popular

Disturbances in France and England 1730 - 1848

John Wiley and Sons Inc. New York 1964 p. 155

213. Rude, Protest and Punishment, op. cit., p. 119

concerted efforts of the British Government and Arthur to persuade Loveless to apply for his family were in order to prevent him returning to Britain. (214) A similar attitude was adopted in connection with the men transported in 1820 following the York Treason Trial. Sorell pointed out that the arrival of the men's wives and families made it unlikely that they would return to England on receiving their Pardons. (215) If this was the plan it failed as Mrs Loveless refused to leave England "I cannot think of going to my husband as I know he have received a free pardon and from what I hear I hope to see him in a few months." (216)

A large number of soldiers and ex-soldiers were transported. The services rendered by these men whilst in the army and the characters provided by military connections were used in attempts to procure free passages for their wives and families - but once again there is no evidence that they succeeded. George Turnbull, an ex-soldier who had fought at Waterloo left behind him a wife and eight children on the Parish who sought assistance for them to go out with him or to join him. Turnbull had a "medal to shew that he behaved himself as an honest and Faithful subject to his King and Country" (217) but it made no difference - his Petition was refused.

214. see Chapter 4

215. Reel 943 PC1/72

216. Reel 962 PC1/84

217. Reel 953 PC1/79. see also p. 60

When Mary Clarke presented a Petition supported by the daughter of the General in Command of the Ordnance and several other ladies to go to her husband James in 1826, (218) it was accepted and she arrived per "The Lady of the Lake" in 1830. (219)

Private William Dawson of the 63rd Regiment remained in VDL as a free settler when his Regiment was sent to India. In 1834 he petitioned to have his wife and son sent to him in the same manner as the wives and families of convicts. His request was granted, but before officialdom could act, his wife and son had set sail for Van Diemen's Land on the "Norfolk" in consequence of a representation made to the Horse Guards. (220)

One of the most interesting cases in this group is that of Mrs Morrow and two children. William Morrow of the 24th Regiment was court-martialled in Quebec in 1832 and transported on the "Moffat" in May 1833. (221) In October 1834 his wife arrived from Sydney on the "Surry", having obtained an order from the

218. Reel 945 PC1/74

219. MB 2/39/1 p. 44

220. Reel 958 PC1/82

221. Reel 960 PC1/83

General Commanding in Chief, signed by FitzRoy Somerset in April 1834, giving orders for her to be embarked on the "Andromeda" Female Convict ship, providing it could "be done without inconveniencing the Service." (222)

These few cases appear to show that the military were able to circumvent the regulations to send the wives and families out. However, on their arrival the wives and families were not given special concessions and in some cases they were worse off than those who went out under the Government scheme.

The last group to be examined are those wives and families who came out independently. Their experiences often justified the concern of the British and Colonial Governments that wives and families should not be a financial burden on the Colonial Government. The case of Mrs Morrow, mentioned in the previous section being indicative of this. Not many instances have been found of wives who worked their way out, but some did.

In 1831 Alice Lancaster arrived as a servant to the Briggs and Wrathall families, emigrants on the "Rifleman." On her arrival Alice memorialised the Governor to have her husband assigned to her. Despite a character reference from Mrs Briggs and Mrs

222. Reel 960 PC1/83 see Appendix 6 p. xxxvi

Mrs Wrathall and support from her husband's employer, her Petition was refused "as it is so palpably inconsistent with the Regulations." (223)

In 1839 George Shipley suggested that his wife should "obtain a situation as superintendent of the female convicts to get her free passage over." (224) It is interesting that Shipley was aware of the appointment of Matrons/superintendents on the female convict ships, but was apparently ignorant of the Government assisted scheme. It would have been unlikely that Mrs Shipley, with convict connections, would have been considered for such a position, but the case demonstrates the lengths to which husbands/wives would go to to be reunited.

The next group in this category were those who came out as emigrants. It is difficult to locate these women unless they came into contact with the authorities but the idea and attempt to get families to emigrate formed a considerable part of family re-union . Emigration could take two forms, fare paying or as sponsored emigrants under the female emigration Scheme. The majority of wives and families of convicts who emigrated came out as fare paying passengers, fares being paid for by their husbands, friends or Parishes. In 1834 Governor

223. CSO 1/418/9373 James Lancaster per "Royal George" 1830

assigned to Mr Earl at Green Ponds.

224. Reel 968 PC1/87

Arthur noted "Some women have in like manner been recently sent out by their Parishes; - for these poor creatures we can only feel, and endeavour to relieve their temporal distress; but of course they have not the claim which is advanced by those who are sent out by Government." (225) A distinction was made by the emigration authorities between sponsored emigrants and would-be emigrants whose husbands were convicts. A letter dated December 1839 stated that "the relatives of Convicts cannot be admitted in free Emigrant Ships under the existing regulations." (226) In 1838 the Colonial Secretary, John Montagu, wrote to Mr Elliott, General Emigration Agent concerning the daughters of William Husband, a Ticket of Leave holder. Montagu requested that the girls should be included in the next batch of female emigrants but was informed that Mr Elliott "was not at liberty in my office to grant this Indulgence to the relatives of persons who have been transported". (227)

Many other suggestions were presented to the British Government by Parishes and Guardians of the Poor to enable them to relieve themselves of families. In 1833 the Governor of the Brighton Workhouse wrote concerning Mary Wiggins and her children. (228)

225. Reel 961 PC1/83

226. Reel 969 PC1/87

227. Reel 966 PC1/86

228. Reel 956 PC1/81

No: 1

List of Female Convicts per "Elizabeth" whose
Husbands or Relatives are in the Colony and
Van Diemen's Land.

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| No 11 Johanna Warren | Husband came as Michael Murray per "Eliza" |
| 14 Ellen Healy | Husband came as Michael Griffen per ditto |
| 19 Catherine Neale | Husband came as James Fitzgerald 12 months ago |
| 22 Mary Field | Has 2 daughters and a son in this Colony and one daughter aged 18 years on board convicted with the Mother. |
| 28 Hannah Wallace | Husband here as John Baxter per "Countess of Harcourt" in 1827 |
| 29 Catherine Fogarty | Husband here as Thomas Fogarty about 2 years since |
| 39 Mary McCormick | Husband here as James McMahon per "Cambridge" |
| 52. Mary Ann Downes | Husband here as Michael Downes per "Countess of Harcourt" |
| No. 53 Margaret Maloney | Husband here as James Riley per "Countess of Harcourt" |
| 78 Mary Connor or McGuilty | Husband Austin McGuilty at Van Diemen's Land |
| 91 Ann Murphy | Husband here as Patrick Murphy about six months since. |
| 110 Margaret Godfrey | Husband her Thomas Hayes per "Eliza" |
| 114 Sarah Cummins | Husband here as Thomas Cummins about 3 years ago also 3 sons in the Colony |
| 128 Rose Fellon | Husband William Moore per "Eliza" |
| 137 Margaret Murphy | Has a brother here Peter Thompson or Murphey about eight years ago |
| 148 Mary Scully or Macguire | Husband here is Thomas Scully per "Hercules" |
| 153 Catherine Connors | Husband here is John Connor Private in 57th Regt. |
| 188 Eleanor Smith | Husband here as Edward McAnalty 7 years ago |
| 189 Mary Doyle or Dempsey | Husband here as Thomas Dempsey per "Cambridge" |

Wiggins had not been long enough in Van Diemen's Land to apply for his family under the Government assisted scheme but the Under Secretary to the Colonial Department, R.W. Hay stated in his reply "the Government do not interfere in cases of this kind, when the parties themselves or any charitable institution may be prepared to defray either a part or the whole cost of the passage." (229) The Parish applied for the emigration bounty for Jane Wiggins, aged fifteen and paid between fifteen and twenty pounds towards the passage money. Wiggins' employer, Mr Kermode promised thirty pounds towards the passage money and the family arrived on the "Strathfieldsay." (230) This case appears to be exceptional, but other instances have been located where the husband forwarded money to England to assist in the cost of the passage.

The final group to be mentioned were those women who perhaps committed crimes in order to be transported after their husbands. Governor Darling in New South Wales was suspicious following the arrival of the "Elizabeth" female convict ship from Cork in January 1828. (231) Darling noted that there were nineteen women on the "Elizabeth" whose husbands or relations were already in New South Wales or Van

229. ibid.

230. see Appendix 6 p. xxxiv

231. Reel 949 PC1/76

List of Female convicts for Vtgo
whose Husbands have been examined
but not yet examined.

- No. 89. Catherine Holmes — { Husband examined
expected as Thomas
D. 86. Bridget Johnston — { D. is Richard
107. Mary Long — { D. is Thomas
127. Mary Dwyer — { D. is James D.
129. Mary Stone — { D. is James.
182. Mary Morris — { D. is John P.
153. Anne McGee — { D. is Thos. P.
154. Mary Riley — { D. is Pat. P.
160. Mary Scott — { D. is Thos. P.
181. Catherine Dooling } — { D. is James P.
or Kennedy
89. Ann Macassey — { D. is James.

Diemen's Land as convicts. A further eleven women were on the ship whose husbands had been convicted but had not yet arrived in the Colony. (232) Darling noted that there was a strong probability that the women had committed crimes in order to be sent after their husbands and thought that an attempt should be made to prevent this happening. This could have been so as wives were usually left destitute following the conviction of their husbands and may have turned to crime in order to survive. Sympathetic Magistrates may have sentenced the wives to transportation in order to relieve the Parish of the expense and to achieve the object of family re-union.

Two facts are evident from this chapter. Firstly that the British Government very rarely deviated from the Regulations set down for granting free passages to wives and familie, despite attempts by special interest groups to influence them. Secondly that a large number of families went after their husbands by other means. Although this area needs more research, they could account for a greater number than those who were fortunate enough to be sent out under the Government scheme.

232. ibid.

CHAPTER 6

THE EXPERIENCES OF WIVES ON ARRIVAL IN THE COLONY AND THE NUMBERS SENT UNDER THE GOVERNMENT SCHEME

*"An order permitting me to see them
will confer an obligation and alleviate
the feelings of one whose anxiety can
better be supposed than expressed."*

James Foyle

CS01/368/8375

An assessment of the experiences of the wives and families will help to gauge the effectiveness of the scheme and the regulations. Those families who experienced problems were probably still better off than if they had remained in Great Britain. With no Poor Houses and work for servants and skilled people available, opportunities were there and the nature of the women generally was such that they were able to avail themselves of the opportunities. As it is not feasible to document all the case histories known, examples will be given to illustrate the shipboard conditions experienced and the type of problem faced.

The Surgeon's Report of the "Persian" (233) gives some information as to the accommodation allocated to the wives and families. Mary Wilby who had three daughters with her was ill on and off during the voyage. The Report mentions that "during the late rainy weather, a good deal of water was unavoidably shipped down the main hatchway, leaving her place wet and damp and from which she caught cold." (234)

233. Reel 947 PC1/75

The "Persian" arrived in August 1827 with 140 female convicts, 40 children and 15 females, wives of convicts and 24 children to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land.

234. Reel 3206 Adm 101/58

Another free woman was ill and the Surgeon commented "The place where the free women are placed is situated close to the main Hatchway, consequently is more exposed to atmospherical changes especially at night." (235)

When the "Borneo" (236) left England there was a mild outbreak of whooping cough which required little medical attention. (237) On her arrival, Colonial Surgeon Scott recommended that all the women and children on board should be quarantined "as the disease has never appeared here" before. (238) Arrangements were made to quarantine the convict women and children in a building on the Domain, but the wives and children for Hobart were allowed to disembark. There was considerable delay in disembarkation as on the 8 October, Henry Baines' master sent a note requesting permission for Baines to collect his wife Harriet Baines, a Government passenger on the Borneo. (239) Mrs Baines and the other wives disembarked on the 18th October.

235. ibid.

236 CS01/344/7875 The "Borneo" arrived 8 October 1828
with female convicts, 27 females, wives of convicts
and 55 of their children.

237. ibid.

238. ibid.

239. ibid.

Return of Children under
Mrs Bromley's Institution.

Mary Bailey
Elizabeth Bailey
Catherine Bailey
John Bailey
Emilia Bailey
James Gilham
William Gilham
Louisa Gilham
Deborah Gilham
Mary Ann Pearce
Mary Pearce
George Pearce
Labak Giles
Ann Giles
Sam. Giles

Sam. Parsons
James Higgins
Bridget McCarthy
Charles Disney
Joseph Disney
William Disney
Charles McEneaney
Alexander Mc Donald
John Mc Donald
Archib. Mc Cormick
Ann Mc Cormick
Byron Mc Cormick
Edward M. Donnell
Elizabeth Mishant
Joseph Hall
John Barrett

The authorities had made no arrangements for the remaining wives and children to proceed to Sydney, and the Captain of the "Borneo" offered to take them there "free of any expense except provisions." (240)

Arthur was concerned at the lack of documentation concerning the wives and families on board the "Harmony" (241) and stated that "a great number of convicts' wives are sent out, for whom applications approved by the Governor had not been sent to England." (242) Several batches of applications had gone astray at this period, but the applications for the majority of women on the "Harmony" had been sent. (243) The papers give an insight into the experiences of the families during the voyage. There is a list of luggage belonging to the wives and lists of the children who attended the ship's school, under the tuition of a Mrs Bromley. This school was for any children on board and most of the children belonging to the Bailey, Gilham, Pierce, Parsons and Higgins families attended school. Before disembarking the wives and children were given a medical inspection by

240. ibid.

241. CS01/368/8375 The "Harmony" arrived in January 1829

with 100 female convicts, eight free women and

33 children.

242. ibid.

243. Reel 240 CD 280/17

88
In Hobart Town Van Diemens Land - -

Name - Children - age - State of health -

Thos Morris Jane - - - 7 - - - Rather Delicate
Mary - - - 2 - - - Good - health -

Mary Giles - - - Sarah - - - 9 - - - Good - - -
Jane - - - 6 - - - Good - - -
Ann - - - 4 - - - Good - - -

Thos Bailey - Mary - - - 15 - - - Good - - -
Catherine - - - 13 - - - Good - - -
Elizabeth - - - 12 - - - Good - - -
Emily - - - 5 - - - Good - - -
William - - - 3 - - - Good - - -
John - - - 8 - - - Good - - -

John Peice - Mary Ann - - 12 - - Distressed lately, Eyes a
Sarah - - - 10 - - - 8° - - 8° -
Celia - - - 3 - - -
Doe - - - 4 - - - Good - - -
George - - - 14 - - - Delicate Eyes health Good
~~Charles~~ - - -
John - - - 10 - - - Good health - - -

Thos Manslee - Matilda - - 19 - - - Good
Ann - - - 7 - - - Good
Hannah - - - 3 - - - Good
Elizabeth - - - sick on Passage.
George - - - 18 - - - Good
John - - - 16 - - - Good
William - - - 13 - - - Good
Robert - - - 10 - - - Good
James - - - 9 - - - Good
Pamela - - - 5 - - - Good health. Tender Eyes &c.

Francis Tatham Thomas - - 3 - - - Good - - -
William - - - 8 - - - Good - - -
James - - - 12 - - - Good - - -
Delia - - - 14 - - - Good - - -
Louisa - - - 8 - - - Good - - -
Thomas - - - 9 Months - - - Good - - -

Thos Parsons - Samuel - - 13 - - - } Good
Mary - - - 12 - - - }

the Surgeon Superintendant and a report made. Requests were made to land some of the families immediately - Benjamin Parsons employer, Mr Pike, wrote to Mr Burnett, Colonial Secretary on the 15th January "Having received information that an assigned Servant of mine, by the name of Benjamin Parsons, has a wife and two Children Free on board the prison ship just arrived, I beg ... an order for her to be permitted to land... as my cart is now in town and leaves immediately on her landing." (244) On the 24 January Rhoda Higgins and Frances Gilham were still on board and the Colonial Secretary requested information as to where and how their husbands were employed. An order was prepared for their landing and Burnett proposed that they could be accommodated in the House of Correction if necessary until they were collected. The Masters of the men, one at Campbell Town and the other at Norfolk Plains took nearly two weeks to collect the families. On the 7th February, Thomas Gilham collected his family, the delay being occasioned by the time it took him to arrive "from the Interior and inability to procure a conveyance for them to his Master's place of residence." (245)

There were other irregularities connected with this ship. On board were Mrs Foyle and her children, whose husband was

244. CS01/368/8375

245. ibid.

a clerk in the Government Store. Foyle was able to provide accommodation for his family, but his wage was insufficient to support them. On 4 February Mrs Foyle requested rations for herself and children or some "additional allowance of pay for her husband's services (at present one shilling per diem)." (246) Arthur refused the request on the grounds that Foyle's application had stated that he was able to support them. He suggested that Foyle should be allowed some time from his office to work for the support of his family. Archer replied that he had understood that Foyle would be assigned to his wife, that he was an excellent clerk and that his removal, or time off, from the store would cause serious inconvenience. Any time off would also inconvenience the Public Service.

In May 1829 Arthur gave in and directions were issued that Foyle's family were to receive Rations. Foyle was not satisfied and requested that he should receive "ninepence per diem in lieu thereof" which, although not equal to the price of Rations, would satisfy him. The expenses incurred by his family had been more than his present rate of pay and he requested that it be allowed from the period of his family's arrival. Foyle's family managed to remain on Rations for two years even though they could not properly be considered as "Objects of Charity". (247)

246. ibid. see Appendix 6 p. x1

247. ibid.

The applications for the wives and families who arrived on the "Lady of the Lake" (248) had been forwarded to London at different times, three of them on 24 May 1827 , two on the 30th June 1828, (249) two on 10 October 1828 (250) and one family's application has not been located. The experiences of some of these wives are well documented and illustrate the problems they encountered on their arrival.

The problems encountered by Elizabeth Crisp and Mary Ann Smith centred around the question of assigning husbands to wives. When Elizabeth Crisp arrived per the "Lady of the Lake" she found that her husband, Samuel was incapable of providing for his family as he was employed for a full day by Government. He was granted a Ticket of Leave and permitted to live in the District of Campbell Town. (251) William Smith applied to have his wife and family sent out in October 1828 (252) At the time of his Application he was assigned to Charles Abbott, in whose service he had been in the two and a quarter years since his arrival in 1826. By the time Mary Ann Smith and her four children arrived, Smith

248. 60 25 vol.15 The "Lady of the Lake" arr. 1 November

1829 with 79 female convicts, 10 wives and children.

249. Reel 240 CD 280/16

250. Reel 240 CD 280/17

251. CS01/418/9373 see Chapter 4 p. 67

252. Reel 240 CD 280/17

had been transferred to the service of John Beamont who stated that "it would be extremely inconvenient for me to receive into my service the wife of William Smith and four Smith children" (253) as he already had six assigned servants and maintained four children of prisoners. Mr Beamont pointed out that although Abbott had applied for Smith's family to be sent out he had not engaged to support them. Beamont recommended that Smith be given a Ticket of Leave and undertook to employ him as a free man.

How these women and children lived in the weeks immediately following their arrival is open to conjecture. Many of them were capable of earning a living, family commitments permitting, and free female workers were in demand in the young Colony.

The case of Mary Ann Shacklock was even more complicated. John Shacklock was transported to Hobart in 1827 and the following year applied to have his wife and family sent out. When they arrived in November 1829, Shacklock was in disgrace with the authorities. "Having reason to believe his wife and family were dead" (254) he had visited a female convict, Rosina Smith, "with the intention of marrying her."

253. CSO 1/418/9373

254. ibid.

Not only was he ineligible for a Ticket of Leave "from the time he had served and from his infamous conduct in applying to marry Rosina Smith" but he was also "altogether unworthy of any such indulgence." (255) Arthur was "quite at a loss what to do in this matter" as Mary Ann and one of the children were sickly and needed the support of her husband. The solution arrived at was to allow Shacklock to work "after 12 o'clock for his own benefit and to admit his children into the orphan school." (256) This was done in the interests of humanity Arthur wishing it to be understood that "nothing but the illness of his wife and one of his children would have induced me to grant him so much indulgence." (257)

The arrival of the "Guildford" from Sydney in 1830 raises another question - how many wives and families came to VDL via Sydney and why did this happen? The "Guildford" was a male convict ship which had disembarked her convicts in Sydney on 4 November and sailed to Hobart, arriving on 1 January 1830 with six wives and fourteen children on board. (258) The female convict ship "Sovereign" had arrived in

255. ibid.

256. ibid.

257. ibid.

258. CUS 30/1

Sydney on 3 August 1829 and probably had these families on board, but it is not known how the families lived for three months in Sydney before embarking on the "Guildford". Most of the families had been applied for in October 1828. (259)

In December 1827 the Bailiffs of Scarborough wrote to the Home Office for information as to how Sarah Sollitt could "be removed at Government expense to Van Diemen's Land." (260) They stated that Sarah had shown them "testimonials of (her husband's) Good Conduct and that which has induced the Government to allow him the privileges of a Free Person." Thomas Sollitt applied for his family in October 1828 (261) and by the time Sarah and her daughter Caroline arrived in 1830 per the "Guildford" he should have been eligible for his Ticket of Leave.

Sarah Williams arrived with her two sons and immediately applied to have her husband, John assigned to her. (262) John had arrived in Van Diemen's Land in 1827 per the "Governor Ready" and was assigned to William Cartwright as a

82

259. Reel 240 CO 280/17

260. Reel 947 PC1/75

261. Reel 240 CO 280/17

262. CSO 1/418/9373

gardener. Spode did not recommend the assignment to Sarah. Williams had committed two offences and was a "dissatisfied fellow" and Mr Cartwright had offered to employ Sarah. By the end of the year John Williams was assigned to his wife Sarah:

"17 December 1830

As a Special Act of Grace on the accession of William 4th I will approve of John Williams per "Governor Ready" being assigned to his wife during his and her good behaviour." Lt Gov. Arthur (263)

A year later on October 26 1831 Sarah Williams applied for and was granted a Third Class Allotment of land in Hobart. "at the top of Goulburn Street, next to that applied for by Mary Ann Tibbs bounded on the South East by Goulborn Street and on the other sides, I believe , by land at present unlocated." (264) In her application Sarah stated that her husband John held a ticket of leave, was a gardener and a steady, industrious man. Perhaps John and Sarah had improved in character and behaviour since her arrival a year previously.

263. ibid.

264. LSD 17 1/105 p. 220

Mary Ann Tibbs, whose husband James had been in the Colony for six years with no offences recorded, was granted his Ticket of Leave in February 1830, on condition that he resided in the country, ie not at Hobart or Launceston. (265) There appears to have been no time limit imposed on the time James Tibbs was to reside in the country. On 20th September 1831 Mary Ann Tibbs applied for and was granted a third class allotment in Goulburn Street " next to the last Allotment in that line already being located." (266) She stated that her husband was a "steady industrious Man (and) the indulgence of receiving an allotment in Hobarton would prove a great benefit to myself and family." (267)

The houses that both she and Sarah Williams undertook to erect were to be substantial Brick houses, 25 feet in front and 20 feet deep, fenced with a good Post, Rail and Pale Fence" (268) The living conditions that these two families achieved appear vastly different to the "half acre of land ..and small hut for the reception of his family" (269) which was to be allocated to those convicts who went into the Field Police.

265. CS01/418/9373

266. LSD 17/1/105 p. 139

267. ibid.

268. ibid.

269. CS01/418/9373

Mrs Bowden went with her five children to reside at Bothwell, where her husband Edward had been placed in the Field Police until he was granted his Ticket of Leave in August 1831. (270) Mary Hurst applied to have her husband William assigned to her. (271) Hurst appeared to be an ideal candidate for the Field Police. He had a wife and four children who would "prove advantageous to the Settlers by supplying them with a class of servants much required. (272). By placing the family in the country, the children would be removed from the "contagious and bad examples too prevalent in Hobart Town and Launceston" (273) Hurst had been in the Colony for six and a half years with the same master and had behaved well. He was described as "a quiet, sober, honest hardworking and industrious man" (274) who had managed to maintain his wife and children since their arrival on his meagre pay as an assigned servant. His master considered it would be a "serious injury" to Hurst to remove him from his present situation, unless it was to assign him to his wife, and requested Arthur to "permit him to remain where he is, without obliging him to join the

270. ibid.

271. ibid. William Hurst, Life, per "Asia 1" January 1824

272. ibid.

273. ibid.

274. ibid.

Police until he receives his Ticket." (275) Hurst did not become a Field Policeman and received his Ticket of Leave.

The majority of applications for the wives and families on the "Mellish" (276) were forwarded during 1829, several as late as September. (277) Mary Hurst (278) came out with six children two having been left behind or died. She was prepared to leave all her family behind should they not be permitted to accompany her "over the vast ocean" in order that she may end her days with her "dear husband" and trusting to the merciful providence of God who would provide for them better than she could. (279) Joanna Wilson arrived with three children. having apparently left the two eldest boys behind as they were too old to be allowed on the female convict ship.

The experiences of the wives and families who arrived on the "Mellish" are interesting and varied. Ann Parry and Susannah Brewer both applied to have their husbands assigned

275. ibid.

276. CUS 30/1. The "Mellish" arrived 22 September 1830 with
118 female convicts, fourteen wives and 45 children.

277. Reel 241, 242, CO280/20, CO280/21

278. Husband Richard, Lancaster, Life, per "Woodford 2" 1828

279. Reel 950 PC1/77

to them and both were refused on the grounds that their husbands had not been a sufficient time in the Colony to be eligible for such Indulgence. In December 1831 Ann Parry's husband, George who had been transported for Life was recommended by Spode for further consideration as he had served half the allotted time required to get his ticket of leave. Arthur granted it to him as a grace and favor on the "celebrations of William's birthday." (280)

Elizabeth Rathbone's husband John was a convict who "worked the system" beautifully to his family's advantage. (281) When Elizabeth arrived in 1830, Rathbone was assigned to Mrs Humphrey, who was unable to take the family into her service. (282) He was transferred to another Master and Elizabeth petitioned to have him assigned to her, but Arthur refused, stating that Rathbone "cannot be assigned to the wife: it ought to be avoided in all cases." (283) It was not until Elizabeth had given birth to her third child that Rathbone was granted his Ticket of Leave in 1832. (284)

280. CS01/418/9373

281. for full details on Rathbone, see Appendix 6 p. xlv i

282. CS0 1/377/8578 p. 336

283. CS0 1/418/9373

284. CON 31/34

James Hogben applied for his wife Ann and three sons in October 1828 when he was assigned to Mr Simpson at Launceston. When Ann arrived James was removed from service and "lent" to his wife. An irate letter from his Master says that Hogben was removed from his service without his knowledge and contrary to Government Order and he trusts that he will not be held responsible if the Hogben's become a charge on Government. The authorities admitted some irregularity in the case but confirmed that Hogben was to remain "lent" to his wife. (285)

Frances Hodgson and her five children came from Cockermouth on the NW coast of Westmoreland and the written order for her to proceed to Woolwich did not arrive until May 7th, giving her a week to get to London. (286) The local Justice of the Peace had them sent directly to Newcastle, which would enable them to get to London by the 15th. Clothing was provided for them and in fact Frances and her family arrived at Woolwich on the 11th May.

Elizabeth Phillips had petitioned the Colonial Office in London in December 1828 to be allowed to go free to her husband who was at Ratho, Bothwell. (287) Her testimonial

285. CS01/415/9373 p. 215

286. ibid.

287. Reel 949 PC1/77

states that "she is a woman of good character, regularly attends her church, a good wife and Mother of industrious habits and capable of conducting all kinds of Farm work appropriate to her sex." (288) She enclosed a copy of a letter she had received from her husband, written in 1827. The letter stated that he could not apply for her until he has been in the Colony for a year and that if she goes out to him she will be given 60 acres of land which will allow him "to be in business for himself." (289) Phillips asked Elizabeth to let him know whether she will come or not so that he can get ready to receive her and says that "it will be the best thing that ever you done in all your life and the thing for me and we shall be happier here than at home as for the voyage over it is nothing, only the thought of it." (290) The request was refused as the official application had not been received, but when William Phillips applied in April 1829 (291) it was granted.

In February 1829 James Qusted applied for his wife and five children to be sent out to him. (292) They arrived in 1830

288. ibid.

289. ibid.

290. ibid.

291. Reel 241 CD 280/20

292. ibid.

and although their immediate experiences are not known by 1839 James had received a Conditional Pardon (293) and acquired considerable land holdings. (294) Of his five children the daughters all married, his elder son James became a sea captain and traded a vessel between Van Diemen's Land, New Zealand and the mainland before joining the Gold Rushes in 1851, and the second son became a school teacher. (295)

Jemima Morgan was one of the wives on the "Mary III". (296) Her husband Samuel had written to his wife saying that "encouragement (was) given to the wives and children of convicts to join their husbands and parents" (297) and that he had applied for his wife and family to be sent to him. (298) The letter had been given to a local magistrate who had written to the Home Office requesting further

293. Con 31/34. Quested was convicted for aiding saugglers

in Kent. Per "Governor Ready" 1827. Good record.

Had 14 acres of land in Kent.

294. LSD 1/2 p. 253, LSD 1/75 p. 150

295. NS 544/11 p. 156

296. CUS 30 p. 69. The "Mary III" arrived October 1831

with 149 female convicts, nine wives and 24 children.

297. Reel 952 PC1/78

298. Reel 245 CD 280/24

information in August 1830 and ten months later Jemima Morgan and family arrived.

No reason has been established for the low numbers which arrived in 1832 as at least 30 men applied for their families in 1831 (299) and several of these arrived in 1833. Mrs Newitt arrived on the "Hydery" (300) with seven children, one of whom William was 18 and theoretically too old to be allowed on a female convict ship.

The only record of the names of the wives on the "Frances Charlotte" (301) is to be found in the list of eleven free passengers (302) who had packages. Mrs Esther Lovett brought 10 boxes, two bags and eight children with her. Also on the "Frances Charlotte" was Sarah Wood and her two brothers, William and Thomas. They had been left behind when their mother was transported, Sarah with her Grandfather and the two boys in the Asylum for the Infant Poor in Birmingham. (303)

299. Reel 247, 248 CD 280/30

300. CUS 30 p. 123. The "Hydery" arrived in August 1832

with 146 female convicts, two wives and eight children.

301. MB 2/39/1 p. 331. The "Frances Charlotte" arrived in

January 1833 with 95 female convicts and children, and

57 free women and children.

302. CSD 1/634/14331

303. Reel 250 CD 280/33

When this ship arrived Mary Wood was one of the first to apply to have her children disembarked as she was "naturally anxious to see them." (304) As there had been cases of Malignant Cholera on board the Colonial Surgeon was required to 'clear' the ship before anyone could land, but that appears to have been done immediately.

Cholera had made its appearance on the "William Bryden" (305) soon after the ship left England and six of the seven female convicts who contracted the disease died. (306) Despite the difficulties of ship-board hygiene and diet most of the diseases contracted on board appear to have been contained and nearly all the deaths occurred among the convict women. Very few free women appear to have died on the voyage out.

Mary Foot(e) was the wife of political protestor Thomas Foot(e). In July 1832 the Vicar wrote to the Home

304. CSD 1/634/14331

305. MB 2/39/1 p. 431. The "William Bryden" arrived in October 1833 with 123 female convicts, nine wives and seventeen children.

306. CSD 1/679/15019

307. Reel 955 PC1/89. Thomas Foot(e) convicted Wiltshire Spring Assizes 1831, 7 yrs for agricultural rioting.

Office saying that Mary had received a letter from her husband who was assigned to a Missionary in Van Diemen's Land who urged her to "lose not time in attending to an order sent home from the colony for their transmission thither." (308) Thomas Foote had applied for his wife and five children in April 1832. (309)

The case of Phyllis Parsons (310) who arrived on the "William Bryden" illustrates how easily the system could fail. When Arthur forwarded Richard Parsons' application in July 1832 he stated that Richard, a boatman had the means to support his family and that they would be no expense to Government. (311) By the time the Parsons family arrived in 1833 Richard Parsons should have served his seven year term. He had served over five years of his time on the Hulk "Discovery". His record lists many petty offences and he had his Ticket of Leave in 1834 and his Certificate of Freedom in 1848. (312) Parsons was unable to support his family as in 1834 his two children, Henry and Sophie were in the Orphan School and their father was paying six pounds per annum and getting Government support. (313)

308. ibid.

309. Reel 251 CD 280/34

310. see Appendix 6 p. xliv

311. CSD 1/679/15019

312. CON 31/34

313. CSD1/746/16104

The arrival of the "Edward" the only female Transport sent in 1834 highlights one of the problems experienced by some women. A week after the ship docked Spode wrote to the Colonial Secretary that two women, Mrs Fisher and Mrs Norman and their four children had not been collected from the ship. He recommended that they should be sent to the Female Orphan School in Davey Street, Bellvue House to await the arrival of their husbands. (314) No verification of their placement has been found. This was an improvement on the previous suggestion that wives not collected should be placed in the female House of Correction. The arrival of one of the other wives, Mary Levack is interesting. In September 1826 when the "Sir Charles Forbes" was due to sail the Surgeon Superintendent sent an urgent communication to the Home Office stating that not only were there seven more children of convicts than listed but that two of the wives had not turned up. One of these was Mary Levack and three children (315) so it seems that she was later given permission to embark on the "Edward."

The "Edward" was an unfortunate ship to have come out on. There was scurvy on board, the accommodation was bad, the ship leaked and everything was wet. Joseph Street, Surgeon Superintendant criticised the manning of the ship and also

314. CSD 1/746/16104

315. Reel 945 PC1/74

in a rare comment on the wives and families sent by Government wrote "From my experience in this ship, I would particularly and most thoroughly recommend that no free women should be sent in Convict Ships - where they and particularly their children, are exposed to the evil communications of the prisoners - and where they are less comfortable than they would be in passenger ships in which they might be sent for about the same expense."

(316)

One of the wives on the "New Grove" (317) was Rebecca Bartlett. Her husband, William had been involved in the Agricultural Riots in Wiltshire. He had applied for his wife and four children in February 1834. (318) The letter for Rebecca Bartlett to embark was wrongly dated but she was able to arrive at Woolwich in time to embark. (319)

Before the ship sailed, Mr Spring Rice from the Home Office had written to Arthur requesting him to "interest (himself) in Hannah Barrett" who was to be sent out to her husband John Barrett. In the reply, dated April 1835, Arthur stated

316. CSO 1/746/16104

317. ADM 3206 101/56. The "New Grove" arrived in March

1835 with 165 female convicts, five wives and 28
children.

318. Reel 257 CD 280/46

319. Reel 956 PC1/82

that he had checked with the Muster Master and Barrett appeared to have behaved himself well and that "If he continues to behave equally well his wife will not I imagine have any reason to regret having come out to him." (320) He stated that he had told Barrett to take good care of his family and had "impressed upon his mind the increased obligation which is now laid upon him to act consistently as becomes a good member of society." (321) There is no indication why Hannah Barrett was to receive special attention. Her husband John had been convicted for Life at York Assizes in 1828 for burglary. (322)

The applications (323) for the wives on the "Hector" (324) indicate a tightening up of the regulations that required a man to have served a specified length of time before he received any indulgence. A letter dated August 1833 stated that Nathaniel Poole had written to his wife Harriet and told her that his application for her to go out to him had been sent. (325) In fact the certificate was not sent until

320. GO 33/19

321. ibid.

322. CON 31/1

323. Reels 257, 258, 259

324. MB 2/39/2 p. 83 The "Hector" arrived October 1835

with nine wives and 26 children.

325. Reel 956 PC1/81

one year later (326) and Harriet arrived in October 1835.
(327)

The applications for the four women who arrived in the
"Atwick" in January 1838 (328) had been sent at different
times. Matilda Richardson wrote to the Home Office in 1835
saying that her husband had told her that his application
had been forwarded per the "Eliza" in October 1833. (329)
Many of the Applications of 1833 did not arrive in London.
Isaac Richardson applied again in October 1836 (330) and
Matilda was one of the nine women who arrived between 1836
and 1839. Jane Fell's husband, John, applied for his wife
and five children in November 1834. (331) Isabella Norman and
Jane Campbell had been applied for in February 1837. (332)

326. Reel 259 CD 280/49

327. CSD 1/831/17640

328. CSD 5/99/2202

329. Reel 956 PC1/81

330. Reel 270 CD 280/68

331. Reel 260 CD 280/51

332. Reel 277 CD 280/77

In the early 1840s the scheme was under review because of the introduction of the Probation System and the transportation of exiles instead of convicted men. (333)

When the Navarino arrived in January 1841 she carried 32 immigrants. (334) The Surgeon Superintendant's Report of the "Navarino" classifies the patients in the hospital as "convict" or "settler" - "settlers" apparently being the wives and families of convicts. The Four Dale children were hospitalised. (335) In 1837 a letter had been sent to the Home Office from the Curate of a Parish in Norfolk concerning Thomas Dale who had been transported to Van Diemen's land and was anxious for his wife and four children to go to him. (336) The Curate stated "The character of the Woman has been far from what it should be; but is now much better, she is industrious and healthy, as are her children" and requested details as to how to proceed. Two and a half years later, in May 1840 Sarah Dale herself wrote to the Home Office stating that her husband's Master, Captain Horton of Ross had got permission from the Governor for her

333. see Appendix 7

334. MB 2/39/5 p. 265

335. Adm 3205 101/56

336. Reel 954 PC1/85

and her family to go out.(337) Given that the ages of the children match, more or less, those listed it would seem that the Dale family did sail on the "Navarino."

The McGrath family had been applied for in 1839 (338) but the applications for the other named immigrants have not been located.

The "Royal Admiral" which arrived in September 1842 was chartered to bring out female convicts, 8 wives and 20 children. (339) When she sailed her complement of female convicts had been increased at the expense of the wives and families and only 2 wives and 9 children were on board. (340)

An analysis of the numbers applied for and the numbers sent (341) shows that just under half of the known applications were successful. However, since it has not been possible to locate many of the numbers of applications and arrivals sent between 1836 and 1842 the arrivals may have been as low as one third of the applications sent.

337. ibid.

338. Reel 485 CO 280/108

339. Reel 973 PC1/89

340. ibid.

341. see Appendix 3 and 4

From information found it appears that the scheme only accounted for a small part of the numbers of convict families who followed their husbands. The letters, petitions and applications show that family reunion was an important aspect of transportation, both for those immediately concerned, the families and the Parishes who bore the responsibility for them after their husbands were transported.

CONCLUSION AND EPILOGUE

*"Lord Grey understands that the system
was abandoned simply and exclusively in
order to relieve the Public Revenue from
the charge of carrying it further into
execution."*

Lord Grey, January 1847

GD 1/64+

In view of the low numbers involved in the scheme it is doubtful that it operated to improve the moral tone of the Colony. It was an expensive scheme both in terms of cash payment and administrative time that perhaps did most to salve the consciences of the administrators and philanthropists.

The administrators who viewed the scheme as an inducement to good behaviour were probably justified, but more research would be needed to obtain clear evidence of this. It is clear that a large number of married convicts and their families were devastated when the sentence of transportation was passed and did all they could to maintain contact and/or achieve a reunion. In this they were generally supported by the middle-men, for reasons that have been investigated. The few who did not encourage or support the idea of family reunion appear to have been motivated by self-interest or because it conflicted with their conception of the punishing aspect of transportation.

The philosophies underlying family reunion are more difficult to isolate. One factor appears to be obvious. Most of the cases assessed give an impression of men with farming skills transported for rural crimes - stealing animals, poaching or agricultural/political disturbances. This type of worker was needed in a Colony that was

building its economic base on Primary products. By encouraging the wives and families to come out the administration had the opportunity to establish a rural based working class with skills that were in demand. The poor quality and health of many of the government sponsored emigrants made the idea of obtaining bonded and probably grateful servants an attractive proposition. The majority of the wives had children, which proved they were "good breeding stock", almost free of the convict stain and unlike female convicts were seen to be respectable and hard-working. A lot of them had useful skills as domestic servants, dairy workers, dressmakers, milliners and stay-makers. In order to assess the full impact of the scheme a lot more genealogical research would be necessary into the families who came out.

It has been difficult to determine the status of husbands and wives on the transportation of the husband. A belief did exist that marriage was nullified on transportation and confusion is evident in the minds of the Church and Government of the legal position and status of those concerned.

The question of assignment of husbands to wives is more definite where these families were concerned. It was not common practice and as Arthur stated "it should be avoided

at all costs." (1) Only two cases were found where husbands were assigned to their wives in special circumstances and similarly two husbands were loaned to their wives under special conditions. No consistency is evident in granting Tickets of Leave on the arrival of the family. Many men had to wait until they were entitled to their Ticket under Regulations, while others received it within weeks of their families' arrival.

It is obvious from the statistics that have been put together that the applications out-numbered those who were sent and the method of selection cannot be ascertained with certainty. Despite the apparently well-regulated scheme it was not always administered according to the letter of the law which led to several problems.

Another area which has posed questions is the decline in importance of the scheme from the beginning of Sir John Franklin's administration, even though it was not officially terminated until sometime in 1842.

1. CSO 1/418/9373

EPILOGUE

Because this Thesis only investigates the first phase of the scheme brief mention needs to be made of the re-introduction of the scheme in 1847. Unfortunately the official dispatch informing Franklin of the cessation of the scheme has not been located - and there must have been one.

In February 1843 a Petition was forwarded to the Colonial Office by Bridget Travers in Ireland to go to her husband in Hobart. (2) The notes on the Petition highlight the inefficiency of Government and the haphazard way in which the Scheme was brought to a close. The question initially arose over the problem of sending wives and families to New South Wales due to the discontinuance of female convict ships to Sydney in 1840, when the "Margaret" brought the last shipload to that Colony. (3) Mr Stephen from the Colonial Office noted that the families of convicts should no longer be sent to New South Wales but added that "that restriction has not however been made to apply to Van Diemen's Land." (4) Mr Hope

2. Reel 977 PC1/91

3. Bateson, op. cit., p. 391

4. Reel 977 PC1/91

wrote back that he was "not aware that any distinction was made between the two Colonies and had thought the Rule had been universally applied." (5) The matter was referred to the Home Office.

William Wagstaff, a convict in Van Diemen's Land, had been trying to get his wife and three children out under the scheme since 1833 (6). In March 1843 Franklin again forwarded an Application from Wagstaff which arrived at the Colonial Office in July 1843. A note on the application stated "It is understood to be Sir James Graham's desire that the practice of providing free passages to Australia for the wives and families of convicts should be abolished." (7)

The reasons for its discontinuance were found in correspondence between Sir George Grey and Sir James Graham concerning the re-introduction of the scheme in 1847. (8) It was found that the scheme was discontinued by motives of economy, which included the increased cost of

5. ibid.

6. Reel 958 PC1/82

7. Reel 977 PC1/91. Wagstaff's family arrived on the

"William Jardine" as emigrants in 1849. (Reel 987)

8. 60 1/64

transporting the wives and families for Sydney from Hobart on vessels other than female convict ships. In 1847 Lord Grey wrote that as the sending of families to the Australian Colonies was not a "gratuitous favor or bounty...but the single measure habitually taken by this country for mitigating the great Moral evils incident to the creation in the Southern Hemisphere of Societies composed exclusively of Male Convicts." (9)

Lord Grey was of the opinion that the Government should not have discontinued the only act which alleviated "the Moral debasement of these Communities" and the scheme was re-introduced in March 1847 along similar lines. (10) The second phase of the scheme was in operation until at least the early 1870s. (11)

From its inception in 1817 the idea behind the scheme was a moral one - strictly governed by motives of economy. In the difficult financial times of the 1840s cost cutting was important and the anti-transportation movement was gathering momentum. A scheme such as the family reunion of convicts was of low priority and a luxury that the Government could not afford.

9. ibid.

10. ibid.

11. see Appendix 7c

12. Reel 987 CD 386/754

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APPENDIX 1 a

SOMERSET RECORD OFFICE - D/G/BW 8a/1 1836 - 1837

Proposed victuals for inmates of the Bridgewater Union

| | Breakfast | Lunch | Supper |
|-----------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Sunday | | | |
| men | 8 ozs Bread 1½ pts Gruel | 7 ozs Bread 2 ozs Cheese | 6 ozs Bread 1½ ozs Cheese |
| | | | |
| women | 6 ozs Bread 1½ pts Gruel | 6 ozs Bread 1½ ozs Cheese | 5 ozs Bread 1½ ozs Cheese |
| Monday | same quantities as Sunday each day | | |
| Wednesday | | | |
| Friday | | | |
| Tuesday | | | |
| men | 8 ozs Bread 1½ pts Gruel | 8 ozs Cooked Meat ¾ lb vegies | 6 ozs Bread 1½ ozs Cheese |
| | | | |
| women | 6 ozs Bread 1½ pts Gruel | 6 ozs Cooked Meat ¾ lb vegies | 5 ozs Bread 1½ Cheese |
| Thursday | | | |
| men | 8 ozs Bread 1½ pts Gruel | 1 pts Soup 6 ozs Bread | 6 ozs Bread 1½ ozs Cheese |
| | | | |
| women | 6 ozs Bread 1½ pts Gruel | 1 pts Soup 5 ozs Bread | 5 ozs Bread 1½ ozs Cheese |
| Saturday | | | |
| men | 8 ozs Bread 1½ pts Gruel | 5 ozs Cooked Meat ¾ lb Vegg | 6 ozs Bread 1½ ozs Cheese |
| | | | |
| women | 6 ozs Bread 1½ pts Gruel | 4 ozs Cooked Meat ¾ lb Vegg | 5 ozs Bread 1½ ozs Cheese |

NEW SCALE OF VICTUALLING.

There shall be allowed to every Person serving in his Majesty's Ships, the following Daily Quantities of Provisions, viz:

- Bread One Pound,
- Beer One Gallon,
- Cocoa One Ounce,
- Sugar One and Half Ounce,
- Fresh Meat One Pound,
- Vegetables Half Pound,
- Tea Quarter of an Ounce.

When Fresh Meat and Vegetables are not issued, there shall be allowed in lieu thereof

- Salt Beef ½ lb.
- and
- Flour ½ lb.
- Salt Pork ½ lb.
- and
- Pease ½ pint.

Alternately

And Weekly, whether Fresh or Salt Meat is issued, Oatmeal Half Pint, Vinegar Half Pint.

The following Scheme shews the Proportion of Provisions with Salt Meat for each Man, for Fourteen Days:

| Days of the Week. | Bread, lb. | Beer, gall. | Sugar, oz. | Cocoa, oz. | Tea, oz. | Beef, lb. | Pork, lb. | Flour, lb. | Pease, pint. | Oat- meal, pint. | Vinegar, pint. |
|----------------------------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| Sunday | 1 | 1 | 1½ | 1 | ¼ | ½ | " | ½ | " | | |
| Monday | 1 | 1 | 1½ | 1 | ¼ | " | ½ | " | ½ | | |
| Tuesday | 1 | 1 | 1½ | 1 | ¼ | ½ | " | ½ | " | | |
| Wednesday | 1 | 1 | 1½ | 1 | ¼ | " | ½ | " | ½ | ½ | ½ |
| Thursday | 1 | 1 | 1½ | 1 | ¼ | ½ | " | ½ | " | | |
| Friday | 1 | 1 | 1½ | 1 | ¼ | ½ | " | ½ | " | | |
| Saturday | 1 | 1 | 1½ | 1 | ¼ | ½ | " | ½ | " | | |
| Sunday | 1 | 1 | 1½ | 1 | ¼ | " | ½ | " | ½ | | |
| Monday | 1 | 1 | 1½ | 1 | ¼ | ½ | " | ½ | " | | |
| Tuesday | 1 | 1 | 1½ | 1 | ¼ | " | ½ | " | ½ | | |
| Wednesday | 1 | 1 | 1½ | 1 | ¼ | ½ | " | ½ | " | ½ | ½ |
| Thursday | 1 | 1 | 1½ | 1 | ¼ | " | ½ | " | ½ | | |
| Friday | 1 | 1 | 1½ | 1 | ¼ | ½ | " | ½ | " | | |
| Saturday | 1 | 1 | 1½ | 1 | ¼ | " | ½ | " | ½ | | |
| Proportion for 14 Days | 14 | 14 | 21 | 14 | 3½ | 5½ | 5½ | 5½ | 3½ | 1 | 1 |

On the days on which Flour is ordered to be issued, Suet and Raisins, or Currants, may be substituted for a portion of Flour, at the following Rate.

- One Pound of Raisins being considered equal to One Pound of Flour.
- Half Pound of Currants } ditto ditto.
- Half Pound of Suet }

In case it should be found necessary to alter any of the above species of Provisions, and to issue others as their Substitutes, it is to be observed that

- 1½ lb. of Soft Bread, or } is to be considered equal
- 1 lb. of Rice, or } to 1 lb. of Biscuit.
- 1 lb. of Flour }
- 1 pint of Wine, or } is to be considered equal
- ½ pint of Spirits } to a Gallon of Beer.
- 1 oz. of Coffee, or } is to be considered equal
- ½ oz. of Tea } to 1 oz. of Cocoa,
- 1 lb. of Rice, or } is to be considered equal
- 1 pint of Calavances, or } to 1 pint of Peas.
- 1 pint of Dholl }
- 1 lb. of Butter } is to be considered equal
- to 1 lb. of Sugar.
- 2 lbs. of Cheese } are to be considered
- equal to 1 lb. of Cocoa.
- ½ lb. of Onions, or } is to be considered equal to
- of Leeks } 1 lb. of other vegetables.

Earl Bathurst directed that women should be allowed two-thirds of a seaman's allowance and the children one half of a seaman's allowance on the female convict ships going to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. Tea and Sugar to be substituted for spirits.

Clothing for 70 Children.

24 MALES.

| | | |
|----------------------------|-----------|--------|
| Kersey Jackets | <i>24</i> | No. |
| Ditto Waistcoats | <i>24</i> | " |
| Ditto Trowsers | <i>24</i> | pairs. |
| Striped Cotton Shirts..... | <i>72</i> | No. |
| Worsted Stockings | <i>48</i> | pairs. |
| Shoes | <i>24</i> | " |
| Woollen Caps | <i>24</i> | No. |
| Neck Handkerchiefs | <i>24</i> | " |

46 FEMALES.

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|--------|
| Brown Serge Jackets..... | <i>46</i> | No. |
| Ditto Petticoats with Bodies..... | <i>46</i> | " |
| Linen Shifts | <i>92</i> | " |
| Ditto Caps | <i>46</i> | " |
| Worsted Stockings | <i>46</i> | pairs. |
| Shoes | <i>46</i> | " |
| Neck Handkerchiefs | <i>46</i> | No. |

Articles of Haberdashery, &c. for use on the Voyage.

Packages *100* No.

Each Package containing,

- 1 pair of Scissors.
- 1½ oz. of Black and White Sewing Cotton.
- 1 oz. of Mixed Pins.
- 1 Thimble.
- 1 Bodkin.
- 1 Piece of Tape.
- Black and Brown Thread.
- 2 Laces.
- 100 small Needles.
- 8 large ditto.
- 1 oz. of Black Worsted.
- 1 small Bag to contain the Articles.
- 1 Check Work-Bag.

1-35 Patch Pieces *200* lb.

APPENDIX 3a

TOTAL NUMBERS ARRIVED PER YEAR AND NUMBER OF SHIPS ARRIVED

| Year | Ships | Number |
|-------|-------|--------------|
| 1820 | 1 | 42 |
| 1821 | 1 | 60 |
| 1822 | 1 | 56 |
| 1823 | 2 | Some arrived |
| 1824 | 1 | 40 |
| 1825 | 2 | None |
| 1826 | 1 | 15 |
| 1827 | 4 | 96 |
| 1828 | 2 | 20 |
| 1829 | 2 | 59 |
| 1830 | 3 | 77 |
| 1831 | 2 | 23 |
| 1832 | 1 | 9 |
| 1833 | 3 | 83 |
| 1834 | 1 | 15 |
| 1835 | 2 | 54 |
| 1836 | 2 | 16 |
| 1837 | 1 | None |
| 1838 | 2 | 14 |
| 1839 | 2 | None |
| 1840 | 1 | 30 |
| 1841 | 5 | 104 |
| 1842 | 3 | 11 |
| Total | | 824 |

These numbers do not include the numbers who arrived on the only ship to have been specially chartered for the purpose of bringing out the wives and families of convicts - the "Jupiter" in 1823.

From the above figures it can be seen that there were only three years in the duration of the scheme when no wives and families arrived.

The average number sent per year was 36.4 women and children, with the average number of women being 11 and children 25. At an approximate cost of 34 pounds per female this amounts to 374 pounds annually, plus the cost of the children.

In 1827 the "Grenada" female transport to Sydney via Hobart disembarked 6 wives and 18 children at Hobart. (CSO 1/8/129)

APPENDIX 3b

NUMBERS OF WIVES AND CHILDREN WHO ARRIVED UNDER THE GOVERNMENT SCHEME AND THE FEMALE TRANSPORT THEY CAME ON

| Ship | Date | Wives | Children |
|------------------------|------|------------------------|------------------------------|
| Morley | 1820 | 12 | 30 |
| Providence | 1821 | 20 | 40 |
| Mary Ann | 1822 | 11 | 45 |
| Lord Sidmouth | 1823 | Some families on board | |
| Mary 1 | 1823 | None | located |
| Brothers | 1824 | 20 | 20 |
| Henry | 1825 | None | located |
| Midas | 1825 | None | located |
| Providence | 1826 | 4 | 11 |
| Sir Charles Forbes | 1827 | 14 | 20 |
| Grenada | | | |
| (to Sydney via Hobart) | 1827 | 6 | 18 (disembarked Hobart) |
| Persian | 1827 | 15 | 25 (some went to NSW) |
| Sovereign | 1827 | None | located |
| Mermaid | 1828 | None | located |
| Borneo | 1828 | 6 | 14 |
| Harmony | 1829 | 8 | 33 |
| Lady of the Lake | 1829 | 10 | 8 |
| Eliza | 1830 | None | located |
| Mellish | 1830 | 14 | 45 |
| Guildford | 1830 | 6 | 12 (This ship came from NSW) |
| America | 1831 | None | located |
| Mary III | 1831 | 9 | 14 |
| Hydery | 1832 | 2 | 7 |
| Frances Charlotte | 1833 | 10 | 47 |
| Jane | 1833 | None | located |
| William Bryden | 1833 | 9 | 17 |
| Edward | 1834 | 6 | 9 |
| New Grove | 1835 | 5 | 14 |
| Hector | 1835 | 9 | 26 |
| Arab | 1836 | 5 | 11 |
| Westmoreland | 1836 | None | located |
| Platina | 1837 | None | located |
| Atwick | 1838 | 4 | 10 |
| Nautilus | 1838 | None | located |
| Majestic | 1839 | None | located |
| Hindustan | 1839 | None | located |
| Gilbert Henderson | 1840 | 10 | 20 |
| Navarino | 1841 | 12 | 20 |
| Mary Anne | 1841 | 19 | 39 |
| Rajah | 1841 | None | located |
| Garland Grove | 1841 | None | located |
| Mexborough | 1841 | 5 | 9 |
| Emma Eugenie | 1842 | None | located |
| Hope | 1842 | None | located |
| Royal Admiral | 1842 | 2 | 9 |
| Waverley | 1842 | None | located |
| Total | | 251 | 573 |

APPENDIX 4a

NUMBER OF CONVICTS WHO APPLIED TO HAVE THEIR WIVES AND FAMILIES SENT OUT UNDER THE GOVERNMENT SCHEME

This information has been basically taken from Reels 230 - 502, the CO 280 series.

| Year | Number of men who applied |
|---------------|---------------------------|
| 1817 | 7 |
| 1818 | 4 |
| 1819 | 6 |
| 1820 | 23 |
| 1821 | 68 |
| 1822 | 10+ |
| 1823 | 25 |
| 1824 | Several |
| 1825 | 40 |
| 1826 | 13++ |
| 1827 | 26 |
| 1828 | 32 |
| 1829 | 30 |
| 1830 | 10 |
| 1831 | 29 |
| 1832 | 40 |
| 1833 | 4 |
| 1834 | 60 |
| 1835 - 1836 | 64 |
| 1836 | 3 |
| 1837 | 2 |
| 1838 | 0 |
| 1839 | 2 |
| 1840 | 4 |
| 1841 | 5 |
| 1842 | 0 |
| 1843 | 1 |
| Total located | 508 +++ |

Note:

The large numbers applied for in 1821 undoubtedly includes the political prisoners' applications and many of these arrived on the only ship to have been chartered especially for the purpose of bringing out convicts' families - the "Jupiter" in 1823.

Similarly the large number applied for in 1834 - 1836 is probably due to the Agricultural Rioters and political protestors of the early 1830s.

The application forms are numbered consecutively, the last numbered form in 1836 is number 575. A new numbering sequence was started which ends at number 17 in 1841. Some forms are not numbered, but the system indicates that the number applied for was greater than the 508 which have been located.

APPENDIX 4b

NAMES OF CONVICTS WHO APPLIED FOR THEIR WIVES

1817

HRA III v.2

Maskell
Miller, George
Yates, Edward
Easy, John
Easy, Josh
Jessop, John
Chevill, Aaron

1818

HRA III v.2

Pitt, Richard
Miller,
Maskell
Rider

1819

HRA III v.2

Chatterley
Yates, Edward
Easy, John
Easy, Josh
Chevill, Aaron
Jessop, John
Several applications of convicts

1820

HRA III v.3

Applications of 23 convicts

1821

HRA III v.4

Applications of 23 convicts
Applications of 45 convicts
Bonney for son and family

1822

HRA III v.4

Applications of certain convicts
Applications of 10 convicts

1823

HRA III v.4

Applications of 25 convicts

1824

HRA III v.4

Applications of several convicts

1825
Reel 230

Applications of 39 convicts
Atkins, Emma to join her husband
Worthy, William for Mother and his 3 children
Slaine, Simon for Catherine and 5

1826
Reel 231

Grant, Robert -
Lincoln, 7 yrs, per "Dromedary" 1820
for wife and family
Applications of 12 convicts
Applications from several convicts
Applications from several convicts

1827
Reel 239

Roberts, John
* Miles, George for wife and 5
Fisher, Benjamin
Cubitt, James
Browne, F.E.D
* Clarke, James for Mary
* Schutte, J.F. for Jane
* Harris, W for Martha
Woods, John
* Hurst, William for wife and 4
Kennedy, John -
Isle of Man, Life, per "Woodman" 1826
for Catherine and 7

Reel 240 Applications of 6 convicts
Applications of 9 convicts

1828
Reel 238

Application of 7 convicts

Reel 239

Bennet (alias Roberts), William
* Symes, John for Elizabeth
Rozier, James
Evans, William
Blackburn, Thomas
Owen, John (James)
Breton, Abraham
* Stratton, Edward for Anne
Reel 240 * Dudfield, George
* Moore, Edward
* Smith, William
Lightfoot, John
* Gilham, Thomas for Frances and 6
Ratten, Thomas
* Bowden (Bennett), Edward
* Hill, George
* Ransley, George for wife and 9

* Shacklock, John for wife and 3
 * Williams (alias Lamb), John
 * Hogben, James
 McDonald, John
 Kingsbury, William
 * Tibbs, James
 * Sallott, Thomas
 CS01/368 * Pierce, Paul -
 Kent, per "Governor Ready"
 for Sarah and 5

1829

Reel 241

* Rathbone, John for Elizabeth and 3
 *? Bailey, Samuel for Sarah and 2
 Vale, John
 Waters, George (alias Tucker) for Mary and 1
 * Quested, James for Jane and 5
 * Mackie, William for Janet
 Clapperton, William for Elizabeth and 2
 * Parry, George for Ann and 3
 Baker, William for Maria and Hannah
 * Phillips, William for Elizabeth and 4
 * Wilson, Thomas for Joanna and 5
 Murphy, John for Bridget (Lafferty) and 2
 * Althrop (Althorp) for Anne and 2
 Balderston (Balderson) Richard -
 Lincoln, Life, per "Asis" 1827
 Susannah
 Riley, Jeremiah -
 Old Bailey, Life, per "Woodman" 1829
 for Ellen
 Brewer, Thomas -
 Winchester, Life, per "Governor Ready" 1827
 for Mary Shave and 1

Reel 242

Collins, George -
 York, 14 yrs, per "Asia" 1827
 Lucas, George for Patience and George
 Poole (Porle), Joseph for Hannah and 2
 Short, Felix for Rose (Meane)
 * Hurst, Richard -
 Lancaster, Life, "Woodford 2" 1828
 for Mary and 6 (CS01/377/8578 p.140)
 * Kennedy, John for Catherine and 7
 * Brewer, Thomas for Susannah and 3
 * Hodgson, Edward for Frances and 5
 Coaling, Thomas -
 Lincoln, 7 yrs, per "Layton" 1827
 for Betsey and 3
 * Reader, Jonathan -
 Cambridge, Life, per "Albion" 1828
 for Elizabeth and 2 (CS01/377/8578)
 * Oliver, Peter -
 Edinburgh, Life, per "Bengal Merchant" 1828
 for Isabella and 3 (CS01/377/8578)

Holley, George -
 Woodbridge, 14 yrs, per "Marmion" 1828
 for Esther and 4
 Gibbs, William -
 Nottingham, Life, per "Manilus" 1828
 for Frances and 5
 Jones, John -
 Shrewsbury, 7 yrs, per "Manilus" 1828
 for Jane and 4

1830

Reel 243

Baker, Edward -
 Norwich, Life, per "Asia 3" 1827
 for Mary and 5
 Gill, William -
 Suffolk, 14 yrs, per "Harmony" 1826
 for Rebecca and 1 (CS01/377/8578)

Reel 245 *

No. 359 Lambert, James
 for Elizabeth and 3
 360 Morgan, Samuel -
 Somerset, per "Andromeda" 1827
 for wife and 5 (CS01/377/8578)
 361 Smith, William
 362 Watson, Charles
 363 Newitt, Adam -
 Northampton, 14 yrs, per "Asia 2" 1828
 for Anne and 6
 * 364 Stephens, Henry -
 Middlesex, 14 yrs, per "Chapman" 1826
 for Maria and 1
 365 Sims, Job -
 Radnor, Life, per "Surry 2" 1829
 for Sarah and 8
 366 Wright, William -
 Lincoln, 7 yrs, per "Lady Harewood" 1829
 for Mary

1831

Reel 247

Surrage, Robert -
 Edinburgh, Life, per "Countess Harcourt" 1831
 for Jane
 Thomas Cooper -
 Gloucester, Life, per "Asia II" 1827
 for Mary and 4
 Moses, William -
 Cumberland, Life, "Surrey" 1829
 For Hannah and 2
 * Brown, John -
 York, Life, "Prince Regent" 1830
 Anne and 3
 Wilson, Anne (alias Moore) -
 Glasgow, 14 yrs, "Lord Sidmouth" 1823
 for 3 children.

- Olley, William -
Life, per "Asia" 1827
for wife and 4. 2nd application.
1st in 1830. CS01/377/8578
- Freeman, Richard
Henthorn, James
Francomb, John
- * Sweet, Arthur
Pearman, James
Waller, James
- * Preston, David
Jenkins, Thomas -
Lancaster, 7 yrs, "Georgiana" 1829
for wife and 4. (CS01/377/8578 p.127)
- Bones, Francis
Reynolds, David
Kent, James
- * Street, Jane (for children)
Sharpe, John
Newson, Robert
Everett, Samuel
Peppiatt, James -
Buckingham, 7 yrs, per "Asia" 1827
- Holland, Thomas -
Leicester, Life, per "Thames" 1829
for wife and 6. (CS01/377/8578. p. 55)
- McLaur(McLerie), David -
Glasgow, 7 yrs, per "Lyon" 1830
for Euphemia(Pate)and 3. (CS01/377/8578.p.61)
- * Massey, William -
per "Sir Charles Forbes" 1830
- * Thorogood, Joseph -
Bedford, Life, per "Bussorah Merchant" 1830
for wife and 5. (CS01/377/8578. p.35)
- * Preston, Joseph
Jeffrys, Thomas -
Surrey, 24 yrs, per "Prince Regent"
for wife and 2. (CS01/377/8578)
- Barrett, Robert (or William Bennett)

- * 398 Webb, William -
Somerset, Life, per "Bengal Merchant" 1828
for wife and 4. (CS01/377/8578. p.39)
- 399 Napp, Thomas -
Life, per "Princess Charlotte"1824
for wife and 2
- * 400 Lovett, George -
Suffolk, 14 yrs, "John" 1830
for Esther and 8
- 401 Williams, Samuel
London 14 yrs, "Sir Charles Forbes"1830
for wife. (CSO 1/377/8578 p. 291)
- xi.

- * 402 Jacobs, Benjamin -
Kingston, Life, "Thames" 1829
for Sarah and 2
- 403 Arnold, William -
Suffolk, Life, per "Asia" 1827
(CS01/377/8578)
- 404 Blackwell, Joseph -
Derby, 7 yrs, per "Bussorah Merchant" 1830
wife and 7 (CS01/377/8578. p.21)
- 405 Austin, Edward -
Cambridge, 7 yrs, per "Earl St. Vincent"
- 406 Compton, Henry -
Gloucester, 14 yrs, per "Eliza" 1830
(CS01/377/8578)
- 407 Cooper, John -
Glasgow, 14 yrs, per "Roslyn Castle" 1828
for Mary and 1 (CS01/377/8578)
- 408 Pardon, William
- 409 Hyder, Henry -
Surrey, Life, per "Royal George" 1830
(CS01/377/8578)
- 410 Buck, John
- * 411 Webb, Daniel -
Hereford, Life, "Royal George" 1830
for Maria
- 412 Howes, William -
Ipswich, Life, "Governor Ready" 1826
- * 413 Pulbrook, John
- 414 Leach, James
- 415 Hill, William
- * 416 Scholar, Thomas -
for Mary
- * 417 Parkin, Francis -
Nottingham, Life, "Persian" 1828
for Sarah and 5
- 418 House, James -
Taunton, Life, "Caledonia " 1828
Elizabeth and 1
- * 419 Wood, Mary -
Stafford, 14 years, "Sovereign" 1827
for her 3 children
- 420 Cooper, James -
Surrey, Life, "Surry" 1829
for Elizabeth and 3
- Reel 251
- * 421 Pretty, William -
Maidstone, Life, "Surry" 1829
for Elizabeth and 2
- 422 Hill, John -
Norwich, 7 yrs, "Clyde" 1831
Sarah and 1
- 423 Hayhurst, Roger -
Preston, Life, "Surry" 1829
for Jane and 4

- 424 Appleyard, Elizabeth -
Warwick, 7 yrs, "Sovereign" 1827
for her son
- 425 Bear, William -
Bury St. Edmunds, 7 yrs, "Royal George" 1830
Hannah and 2
- 426 Light, Thomas -
Salisbury, 7 yrs, "Eliza" 1831
for Martha and 3
- * 427 Foote, Thomas -
Salisbury, 7 yrs, "Eliza" 1831
for Betsey and 4
- 428 Clift (alias Campbell), Charles -
Old Bailey, Life, "John" 1831
for Eliza Anne
- * 428 (?) Parsons, Richard -
Old Bailey, 7 yrs, "Prince Regent" 1826
for Phillis and 4
- * Hallam, Joseph -
Nottingham, Life, "Bussorah Merchant" 1830
for Maria and 1
- 430 Perry, David -
Chelmsford, 14 yrs, "Royal George" 1830
for Francis and Eliza
- 431 Blackburn, George
- * 432 Hickson, Henry
- 433 Savery, Henry
- * 434 White, James
- Greenbark, Edward -
York, Life, "Elizabeth", 1832
for Anna and 3 (CS01/377/8578)
- Slake, Mark -
Somerset, 14 yrs, "Argyle" 1831
Sarah and 1 (CS01/377/8578)
- 449 Clark, William
- 450 Edwards, Richard

Reel 995

- Gregory, Thomas -
for wife and 6. (CS01/377/8578)
- 451 Dawson, Private

1834

Reel 257

- Raines, William
- Briggs, Christopher -
Doncaster, 7 yrs, "Glencoe" 1832
for Sarah and 4 (CS01/377/8578)
- Savage, William -
Thetford, 14 yrs, "Mary" 1830
for Susan and 2
- * 456 Bartlett, William -
Salisbury, 7 yrs, "Eliza" 1831
Rebecca and 4
- 457 Snell, William -
Devon, 7 yrs, "Sir Charles Forbes" 1830
for Mary and 3

- * 458 Miller, Samuel -
Northampton, 14 yrs, "Clyde" 1830
for Ruth and 2
- 459 Pitcher, William -
Norwich, 7 yrs, "Mary" 1830
for Mary and 7
- 460 Salt, John -
Glasgow, Life, "Persian" 1830
for Isabella and 4
- 461 Mallin, Thomas -
Stafford, 14 yrs, "Perrin" 1831
for Mary and 3
- * 462 Suffolk, James -
Middlesex, Life, "Royal George"
for Sarah
- 463 Haney, Matthew -
Somerset, Life, "York" 1829
for Ann and 6
- 464 Brown, George -
Norfolk, 7 yrs, "Thames" 1829
for Sarah and 1
- 465 Kingston, William -
Winchester, Life, "Chapman 2" 1824
- * 466 White, James -
Warwick, 14 yrs, "Thames" 1829
for Sarah and 4
- 467 Dudley, Thomas -
Chester, 14 yrs, "Bussorah Merchant" 1830
for Mary and 6
- 468 Rider, Richard -
Reading, 14 yrs, "Royal George"
for Elizabeth and 5
- 469 Cashway, Charles (alias Joseph Tubb) -
Old Bailey, Life, "John" 1831
for Anne and 3
- 470 Cook, George -
Winchester, 7 yrs, "Sir Charles Forbes" 1830
for Elizabeth and 4
- * 471 Barrett, John -
York, Life, "Manilius" 1828
for Hannah and 3
- 472 Leach, John -
Gloucester, 7 yrs, "Larkins" 1831
Sarah and 1
- 473 Horne, George -
Devon, Life, "Sir Charles Forbes" 1830
for Agnes and 1
- 474 Liddiard, Joseph -
7 yrs "Eliza"
for Mary (formerly Mary Drew) and 1
- 475 Morgan, Charles -
Winchester, Life, "Earl St Vincent" 1826
for Harriet and 6

- 476 Healman, James -
Norfolk, 14 yrs, "Clyde"
for Ann and 1
- 477 Smith, Richard -
Salisbury, Life, "Thames" 1829
for Elizabeth and 4
- 478 Kittson, Michael -
Aylesbury, Life "Bussorah Merchant" 1830
for Mary and 4
- 479 Williams, Samuel -
Chester, 14 yrs, "Bussorah Merchant" 1830
for Mary and 3
- * 480 Bond, William -
Thetford, Life, "Clyde" 1830
for Ann and 2
- Dixon, William -
for wife and 5

Reel 258

- Briford, Matthew -
"Asia 2" 1827
for Hannah and 8
- Banks, William -
"Lord Lyndock 1831
for Elizabeth and 3
- Coupland, William -
"Larkins" 1831
for Elizabeth and 3
- Edwards, John -
"Lady Gilmore"
for Mary and 2
- Foster, Benjamin -
"York 2nd" 1832
for Mary
- Shead, Richard -
"Lord William Bentinck" 1832
for Susan and 1
- Shaw, James -
"York" 1829
for Rebecca and 4
- Simpson, William -
Life, "Southworth" 1830
for Anne and 4
- * Taylor, Daniel -
for Charlotte and 5

Reel 259

- 490 Slough, William -
Northampton, Life, "Asia 3" 1827
for Elizabeth and 2
- * 494 Kingshott, John -
Winchester, Life, "Proteus" 1831
for Mary and 5 (CS01/377/8578)
- * 495 McDonald, John -
7 yrs, "Strathfieldsay" 1831
for Christian and 6

- 496 Terrell, Benjamin -
Buckingham, Life, "England" 1822
for Hannah (Gardiner) and 4
- 497 Steel, Edmund -
Berkshire, Life, "Eliza" 1831
for Maria and 7
- 499 Dore, John -
Life, "York" 1832
- Johnson (Long) Joseph -
"Bengal Merchant" 1828
for Elizabeth
- Mason, Edward, -
"York 1" 1829
for Elizabeth and 3
- Goddard, Sam -
"Royal George" 1830
for Ann and 2
- Turnbull, George -
wife and family
- * 500 Poole, Nathaniel -
Gloucester, Life, "Lord Lyndock" 1831
for Hannah and 1
- * 501 Crouch, James -
London, 7 yrs, "Persian 2" 1830
for Mary and 1
- 502 Shehay, William -
Monmouth, Life, "Sir Charles Forbes" 1831
for Honoria
- * 503 Lyall, Robert -
Newgate, 14 yrs, "William Glen Anderson" 1831-
for Mary and 2
- 504 Grest, Charles -
Gloucester, 7 yrs, "David Lyon" 1830
for Elizabeth (Webb) and 6
- * 505 Sparkes, Samuel -
London, 7 yrs, "Emperor Alexander" 1833
for Elizabeth and 1
- Reel 260
- 506 Clark, William -
Manchester, 14 yrs, "Lord Lyndock" 1831
for Jane and 1
- 507 Brunt, Thomas -
Salisbury, 7 yrs, "Eliza" 1831
for Ann and 3
- * 508 Fell, John -
Middlesex, 14 yrs, "Roslyn Castle" 1828
for Jane and 5
- 509 Thompson, William -
Life, "Asia 3" 1827
for Ann Raby and 1
- 510 Scott, William -
Lancaster, Life, "Red Rover" 1831
for Elizabeth and 1

511 Preston, Lewis John -
Lincoln, Life, "Larkins" 1831
Margaret and 7

1835

Applications not found

1836

Reel 270

- 573 Parsons, Edward -
Wells, Life "Argyle" 1831
for Sarah and 1
- * 574 Isaac Richardson -
Maidstone, Life, "Lord Lyndock" 1831
for Matilda and 2
- 575 Blackwell, John -
Huntingdon, Life, "Woodford" 1828
Sarah and 5

1837

Reel 277

- * 576 Norman, James -
Rutland, 7 yrs, "Layton" 1835
for Isabella and 2
- * 577 Campbell, William -
Edinburgh, Life, "Isabella" 1833
for Jane Johnston and 3

1839

Reel 485

- * McGrath, Daniel -
Warwick, "Francis Charlotte" 1827
for Mary Magrath and 2
- Sawyer, Daniel -
Nottingham, 7 yrs, "Francis Charlotte" 1837
for Hannah

1840

Reel 492

- Munday, George -
London, 7 yrs, "Lord Lyndock" 1836
for Sarah
- * Street, Richard -
Bedford, 14 yrs, "Elphinstone" 1836
for Jemima and 2

Reel 502

- Drew, Thomas -
Kent, 15 yrs, "Augusta Jesrsey"
for Ann and 3
- * Terrington, Samuel -
Norwich, 14 yrs, "Eden"
for Elizabeth and 6

1841
Reel 501

Bassett, Thomas -
Norwich, Life, "Henry Porcher" 1836
for Mary and 8
16 Owens, Evan -
Caernarvon, Life, "Surry" 1837
Ann and 7
17 Austin, Josiah -
Exeter, Life, "Layton 2" 1836
for Catherine and 6

Reel 502

Walker, John -
Newgate, 7 yrs, "Neptune" 1838
for Elizabeth (Baptist) and 2
Pearsall, Thomas -
Worcester, 14 yrs, "Norfolk" 1835
for Ann Maria

1843
Reel 977

Wagstaff, William -
Coventry, Life, "Andromeda" 1827
for Ann and 3

(Note on this Application that the Scheme
had been discontinued)

Copy of a letter from William Jones

"Dear Wife I have taken the second opportunity of writing to you hoping it will find you and our Dear Child well as it leaves me at present. thanks be to God for it I am very well situated with plenty to eat and drink but cannot make myself happy for being banished so many Miles from you which gives me a deal of sadness to think I did not conduct myself better and remain but dear Wife as this is a far better Country than Home as here is plenty for any one that will work for it if you thinks well of? write to me I should be very happy to receive you and my dear Child again it would be the happiest day that ever I saw and you would never have reason to repent your journey if you will take it into consideration and come you will come from the land of poverty to the Land of plenty my Master promises me that he will get you over free from expences if you wish to come please to send me at the earliest opportunity where you will come or not as I will prepare for you things to make you comfortable as here is good wages for labour from 5 to ten shillings per day and a steady woman can earn as much for man and women is very idle here gives their minds to drinking as they neglects their business the Journey is not dangerous as you will come over in about 3 month I came over in 3 months there is a great many people comes over from England Ireland Wales and out to this Country it being such a fine Country if you thinks well of coming you will receive Orders from London from the Transport Office if you are to come and dont fail coming Dear Wife provide yourself with such things as is necessary for you and the child if you have got any money before you comes buy such as you think most needful as wearing apparel is dear here...you will come over in a ship with women prisoners but will not be along with them keep them all at a distance and the sailors likewise or else they will rob you and be sure to take care of your things and keep them safe or else you will loose them it will be the best work ever you did to come as there is a great many mens wives come over and does well please to give my kind love to my Father, Brother and Sisters and let me know how they all are if you have any friend that you wish to come over with you get some gentlemen to write to Government and they will get an Order like what you will will get plenty to eat and drink coming over when you write to me send it to Mr Joseph Boneys Launceston Vandiemens Land New South Wales please to remember me to all inquiring friends so no more at present from you Undutifull but Ever Loving Husband William Jones June the 10th 1823.

Dear Wife I have taken the second opportunity of writing to you
 Hoping it will find you and our Dear Child well as it does
 present. Thanks be to God for it I am very well and contented
 plenty to eat and drink but cannot make myself happy for I
 am banished so many Miles from you which makes me a deal of
 use to think I did not conduct myself better and remain well
 but Dear Wife as this is a far better Country than Home as here
 plenty for any one that will seek for it if you think well of
 to me I should be very happy to receive you and my Dear Child
 again it would be the happiest Day that ever I saw and you
~~never have~~ reasons to repent your Journey if you will take the
 consideration and come you will come from the land of poverty
 the Land of plenty my Master promises me that he will get you
 over free from expences if you wish to come please to send me
 the earliest opportunity where you will come or not as I will
 for you things to make you comfortable as here is good wages for
 for labour from 5 to ten shillings per Day and a steady woman can
 as much for men and women is very well here gives their minds to work
 as they neglect their business the Journey is not dangerous as you
 will come over in about 3 Months I came over in 3 Months there is
 great many people comes over from England Ireland Wales and Scotland
 to this Country it being such a fine Country if you think well of it
 you will receive Orders from London from the Transport Office
 you are to come and don't fail coming

APPENDIX 5 - Letters from husbands

"October 20th 1830

I received your letter and am glad to hear of your making application to join me in this far distant land, so far from your own native country, and having all your relations and friends to join me once more. I shall always esteem you the more for it. When I received your letter I made application for what you so earnestly wished (meaning the certificate from the Governor) so that when you receive this letter you must hold yourself in readiness for you may expect an order down from London in a week or two and if you do intend coming to me lose no time in preparing yourself, and bring with you= some Onion seed a few seed peas and Beans, some Kidney beans, Garden seeds of all kinds, tie them in separate parcels with the name of each sort. keep them dry. Flower seeds of all kinds, get Thomas D? to get a little Cow Cabbage seed a few Brocelena ? Nuts, a few Wood Nuts, a bit of Red Clover seed, Horse beans, a few damazine stones and a few plumb stones, and a pocket pruning Knige for I intend setting up Gardener and be sure and bring your marriage lines with you and my Books if you have got them."

Copy of a part of a letter from William Stevenson to is wife.

"I received your letter, and am glad to hear of your making application to join me in this far distant land, so far from your own native country, and having all your relations and friends to join me once more. I shall always esteem you the more for it. When I received your letter I made application for what you so earnestly wished (meaning the certificate from the Governor) so that when you receive this letter you must hold yourself in readiness for you may expect an order down from London in a week or two. and if you do intend coming to me lose no time in preparing yourself, and bring with you some Onion seed a few seed peas & Beans, some Kidney beans, Garden seeds of all kinds, tie them in separate parcels with the name of each sort. keep them dry. Flower seeds of all kinds, get Thomas Druing to get a little Cow Cabbage seed a few Brocelona Plants, a few Wood nuts, a bit of Red Clover seed, Horse beans, a few Homazine stones and a few plumb stones, and a pocket pruning knife for I intend setting up Gardener. And be sure and bring your marriage lines with you and my Books if you have got them. W. S."

Copy of a letter from John Baker 1835

"Dear Wife

With pleasure I received your welcome letter on March 5 and have lost no time in endeavouring to procure a passage for you and the dear children which having done I forward this that you may prepare yourselves as your notice from Government will be short.

On the receipt of your letter me and one of my fellow servants petitioned the Governor of this Colony forwarding our characters from our Masters who has granted the prayer and most likely you will arrive in one ship which will be a comfort to you both her name is Davis.

My Dear wife I am still in the same situation that I have ever held since my arrival in this Colony and have engaged to remain until your arrival by then I trust I shall have accumulated that which will set us once more comfortable being determined to strain every nerve to accomodate you and the children...

I can assure you that in this Colony industry will maintain a family much better than in England and I trust on your arrival you will not regret the journey. The account you give of the children has given me much pleasure and trust the time is not far distant when I shall once more behold them.

Give my love to Brothers and Sister and to all inquiring friends.

*The custome and manners of the inhabitants are much improved and religion and Schools for Children are rapidly advancing my habitation being within an easy walk from the Church though my situation hinders my constant attendance where the Gospel is preached in purity... Provision is dearer occasioned by a partial failure in the crops of the proceeding year Wheat now at about 6s 6d a Bushel meat may be ? at 5d for the other necessaries cheaper the great influx of emigration had tended to keep up the price. I must conclude with tender love to you and the children and may him who watches over his people bless and preserve you in all perils and waft you safe to this distant Land is the prayer of your affectionate husband,
John Baker.*

I can assure you that in this Colony industry
will maintain a family much better than
in England & I trust on your arrival
you will not regret the journey—

The account you give of the children
has given me much pleasure & I trust
the time is not far distant when I shall
see more of them—

Give my love to Brothers
& Sisters & to all enquiring friends

The custom & manners of the inhabitants
are much improved & religious & schools for
children are rapidly advancing, my habitation
being within an easy walk from the Church
though my occupation hinders my constant
attendance where the Gospel is preached
in purity— Provision is dearer than
usual occasioned by a partial failure
in the crops of the preceding year which
amount about 6. 8/10 Bushel wheat may
be quoted at 5d/10 the other necessaries
cheapen the great influx of emigration
tends naturally to keep up the price

Copy of a letter from William Gregory 1839

"Hobart Town Barracks - December 26 1839

Dear Wife,

I write these few lines to you hoping they will find you well as I am happy to say they leave me at present - I am happy to say that I have arrived here safe after so long a dreary (a voyage) But we have arrived out as I understand upon a new system that is we are not signed to masters but to be kept upon publick works such as roads. From what I can hear I am in hopes of doing well in the course of a few months as I understand that my trade is a very flourishing one in this Country and that wages ...pretty well especially for free men, 8 or 10 shillings a day is the wages that is mostly given to good workmen, when you write to me you must say whether you are to come over if an opportunity shews itself, I understand that in a general way provisions are cheap and rather plentiful but at present bread is very dear it is 11 pence for a two pound loaf but we are in expectation every day of it settling again, I understand that when women comes over to their husbands they come out in the female convict ships along with the convict woemn. We lived very well coming over we had tea morning and gruel nights for dinner one day..peas soup another day beef and plum pudding, wine and lemon juice nearly every day after dinner - you must send me word how your father is if he has got settled about his house and how all things is going on. I have seen young Pointer who was taken in Hitchin market, he said that he had seen Ephram Lake about 3 weeks ago and that he was doing remarkably well he has got a nice little farm of his own and that he is coming to England as soon as he has got 2 more harvests over he has saved more that 100 pounds since he came into this country. - I shall write to William Galor as soon as I can get an opportunity, when you write say if you have heard from him since I left home. If you think that you should not like to come you must say in your letter and then I will try to do something for you but I would much rather that you would come over send me word where you are and how you are situated and how you have been situated since I left you. If you come I have not the least doubt but that you will live very well you must please to give my love to my Father, Mother Brothers and Sisters and to all enquiring friends if it should be that I have any left. I am dear Wife your affectionate husband,
William Gregory
You will think no more of being on the water after the first week than if you was on Land.

of your work another day but of your preaching, some of them
come nearly every day after dinner - you must send me word
how your father is if he has got settled about his house & how
all things is going on. I have seen young Pinter who was taken
in Hitchin market, he said that he had seen Ephraim Lake about
3 weeks ago & that he was doing remarkably well he has got a nice
little farm of his own & that (he) is coming to England as soon as
he has got 3 more harvests over he has saved more than £400
since he came into this country - I shall write to William Gale as
soon as I can get an opportunity, when you write say if you
have heard from him since I left home. If you think that you
should not like to come you must say in your letter of then I will try
to do something for you but I would much rather that you would come
over send me word where you are & how you are situated & how you have
been situated since I left you. If you come I have not the least
(doubt) but that you will live very well you must please to give
my love to my Father Mother & Brothers & Sisters & to all enquiring
friends if it should be that I have any left

I am dear Wife

Your affectionate husband

William Gregory

You will think me more of being in the water
than the feet and than if you was in land

APPENDIX 6a

List of Wives and Families who came out under the Government Assisted Scheme and the Female Convict Ship they came out on.

"Morley" arrived 29 August 1820
12 wives and 30 children (Reel 939)
no names found

"Providence" arrived 18 December 1821
20 wives and 40 children (Reel 940)
no names found

"Mary Ann" arrived 2 May 1822
11 wives and 45 children (HTG)
only one name found:
Mrs Kimber and 6 children

"Lord Sidmouth" arrived 10 February 1823
Had wives and children on board
only one name found:
Mrs Rice and 3 children

"Brothers" arrived 15 April 1824
20 wives and 20 children (Reel 942)
only one name found:
Martha Saunders and 4 children (CS01/418/9373)

"Providence" arrived 16 May 1826
4 wives and 11 children
no names found

"Sir Charles Forbes" arrived 3 January 1827
14 wives and 20 children (HRA 111 v. 5 p. 482)
some names found
Anne Champion with Esther (Reel 3210 Adm 101/67)
Sarah Green (died on arrival) and daughter
Mary Babington with Rebecca, Elizabeth and John
Mary Larkins
Mrs Dowitt
Frances Bayon (?)

"Grenada" arrived 6 January (Sydney via Hobart) 1827
6 wives and 18 children disembarked at Hobart.

"Persian" arrived 15 August 1827
15 wives and 25 children (Reel 947)
only two names found:
Mary Simcox with Jeremiah and Mary (CS01/162/3853)
Mary Wilbey with Maria, Elizabeth and Harriet

"Borneo" arrived 8 October 1828
 23 wives and 49 children
 (6 wives and 13 children to Hobart)
 Harriet Baines
 Mary Hanson and Joseph
 Elizabeth Tilly with Eliza, George, Charlotte, Charles and
 Elizabeth
 Elizabeth Tilly with Amelia, Edward and John
 Caroline Sandford
 Isabella Miles with Mary, Louisa, Isabella, William and
 Lewin

"Harmony" arrived 14 January 1829
 8 wives and 33 children (CS01/368/8375)
 Rhoda Higgins and 2
 Mary Giles and 3
 Catherine Bailey and 6
 Sarah Pierce and 5
 Mrs Ransley and 9
 Mrs Francis Gilham and 6
 Mrs Parsons and 2

"Lady of the Lake" arrived 1 November 1829
 10 wives and ? children
 Elizabeth Crisp and 2 (MB 2/39/1 p. 44)
 Martha Harris
 Mary Clarke
 Elizabeth Symes
 Jane Schutte
 Anne Stratton
 Mary Ann Smith and 4
 Mrs Shacklock and 2
 Jane Booth (to New South Wales)
 Catherine Scaddon (to New South Wales)

"Mellish" arrived 22 September 1830
 14 wives and 39 children (CUS 30/1)
 Elizabeth Rathbone with Henry and Mabel
 Ann Perry (Parry) with William and John
 Isabella Oliver with Agnes, Isabella and Peter
 Susannah Brewer with Susannah and Eliza
 Maria Tucker with Mary Ann
 Joanna Wilson with Mary, Henry and Edmund
 Elizabeth Phillips with Eliza, Elizabeth and John
 Mary Hurst with Sarah, Mary, Elizabeth, Richard, Jane and
 Benjamin
 Janet Mackie
 Frances Hodgson with William, Joseph, Mary Ann, Jane and
 Francis
 Ann Althorp with George and Mary Ann
 Ann Hogben with William, John and James
 Jane Quested with James, Isabelle, Theophilus, Jane and
 Sarah
 Elizabeth Reader with John and Sarah

"Guildford" arrived 1 January 1830 from Sydney
6 wives and 12 children CUS 30/1
Mary Hurst and Sarah
Sarah Salloth and Caroline
Mary Ann Tibbs and Sarah Ann
Diana Bowden with Jonathan, Mary, Harriet, Sarah and
Edward
Mary Ann Moore with Edward and John
Sarah Williams with William and John

"Mary III" arrived 19 October 1831
9 wives and 14 children (CUS 30 p. 68)
Judith McKernon with Catherine and Margaret
Elizabeth Lambert with James, George and Jane
Jemima Morgan with Mary Ann, Elizabeth, Sarah, Eliza and
Frederick
Bridget Watson with Margaret, Joseph and John
Elizabeth Barker and Lancelot
Louisa Hill with Mary Ann, Sarah, Ann, George, William and
Matilda
Mary Ann Williams (daughter of a female convict)
Jane Jordan with John, William and Jane
Ann Brown, daughter of Elizabeth Brown a convict.

"Hydery" arrived 10 August 1832
2 wives and 7 children (CUS 31/1 p. 7)
Mrs Stevens
Mrs Newitt and 7 children

"Frances Charlotte" arrived 10 January 1833
10 wives and 47 children (MB 2/39/1 p. 331)
Esther Lovett with Esther, Charles, Frederick, George,
Caroline, William, Louisa and Julia
Sarah Pulbrook
Susan Massey and 6
Mary Scholen (?)
Mary Ann Thoroughgood
Maria Webb
Sally Street and brother
Rebecca Sweet
Sarah, William and Thomas Wood
(Children of Mary Wood, Convict already in Hobart)
Sarah Preston
Ann Hicker
Mary Pardon.

"William Bryden" arrived 23 October 1833
9 wives and 17 children (MB 2/39/1 p/ 431)
Mary Ann Courd
Eliza Dudfield
Martha Hickson
Maria Hallam and Hannah
Mary Foote and Amelia, Sarah
Eliza Pretty and 2
Phyllis Parsons and 3
Mary White and 5
Sarah Jacobs and 2

"Edward" arrived 4 September 1834
6 wives and 9 children (RS 131/13)
Susan Sawford and 2
Mary Levack and 2
Frances Norman and 3
Mary Heath
Mary Fisher and 1
Susannah Matilda Flower and 1
"New Grove" arrived 27 March 1835
5 wives and 28 children (Adm 3206 101/56)
Mrs Miller and 2
Mrs Bartlett and 4
Hannah Barrett and 2
Sarah White and 4
Sarah Suffolk

"Hector" arrived 20 October 1835
9 wives and 26 children (MB 2/39/1)
Elizabeth Grisbaud and 6
Mary Crouch and 1
Christine McDonald and 6
Charlotte Taylor and 2
Margaret Lyall and 2
Ann Bond and 2
Mary Kingshott and 5
Harriet Poole and 1
Elizabeth Sparkes and 1

"Arab" arrived 25 April 1836
5 wives and 11 children
no names found

"Atwick" 23 January 1838
4 wives and 10 children (MB 2/39/4 p. 270)
Isabella Norman and 2 (CSO 5/99/2202)
Jane Campbell and 3
Jane Fell and 3
Matilda Richardson and 2

"Gilbert Henderson" arrived 24 April 1840
10 wives and 20 children (CSO 5/237/6101)
no names found

"Navarino" arrived 17 January 1841
32 Immigrants (MB 2/39/5 p. 265)
Adm 3205 101/56
Mrs Littlejohn with James (died on voyage) and Hannah
Mrs Dale with Thomas, Susan, Mary and Sarah
Harriet Wilcox
Mary Manton with James and John
Mrs Badcock with John
Mrs McGrath with George, Mary and Thomas
Mrs H. Walker
plus others unknown

"Mary Anne" arrived 19 March 1841
18/19 Emigrants and 39 children (MB 2/39/5 p. 328)
Convict families from Ireland to go on to Sydney
(CSO5/281/7384)

"Mexborough" arrived 26 December 1841
5 wives and 9 children (MB 2/39/6 p. 128)
Mary Penner
Mary Carroll and Jane
Anne Fox and 5
Hannah Murphy and 2
Jane Newham and Catherine

"Royal Admiral" arrived 24 September 1842
2 wives and 9 children (MB 2/39/6 p. 330)
Mrs Torrington and 6
Mrs Street and 3

APPENDIX 6

Chapter 2 p.29

Mrs Hollands and Mrs Jenkins

In December 1825 the employer of John Jenkins and John Hollands wrote to Capper concerning the families of his convict servants in New South Wales. He stated that the men had been recommended by the Governor for the indulgence and that although Mrs Jenkins declined to go, Mrs Hollands wanted to proceed and was prepared to take Jenkins' children with her. Mrs Hollands had four legitimate children, plus twin female children by another man who were both in "the Poor House at Strood (nr Rochester) where they belong supported by the Parish at a very heavy expense and being females are likely to be a burthen for many years, whereas that circumstance would make them an acquisition to the Colony". Mrs Jenkins children were in the Poor House at Halling, also near Rochester.

In January 1826 the husbands' employer from New South Wales wrote again to repeat the application and enforced the argument by stating that they were all in the Poor House "at a great and increasing expense to the Parish." By this time Mrs Jenkins had decided to go, having met her husband's employer and been convinced that her husband was able to

support the family and wanted to have them with him. The letter was supported by a Petition to Robert Peel, Home Secretary, from the wives and a statement from the Parish officers that "the Petitioners and their families are a heavy and increasing burthen to this Parish and that we are perfectly ready to fit them out for the voyage with clothing." There was also a statement from six Justices of the Peace of the County of Kent and another one from the current employer of Mrs Hollands and Mrs Jenkins. (1)

In August 1826 the wives and families received authorisation to embark on the "Grenada" from Woolwich - the cost to the Parish of putting them on board being a mere thirteen pounds twelve shillings and six pence. (2)

The "Grenada" was chartered to take twelve wives and twenty children to Sydney. She sailed via Hobart where she disembarked six wives and eighteen children. (3)

1. Reel 945 PC1/74

2. Halling Overseer's accounts 1826 p. 165/12/2

3. Reel 3209 - 10 Adm 101/67

APPENDIX 6

Chapter 4 p.70

Amelia Cooper

Reel 958 PC1/82, Reel 960 PC1/83

Amelia Cooper and child emigrated to Van Diemen's Land per the "Norval" arriving in 1832. (1) Her friends in London assisted her with the passage money after her husband, Edward had been sentenced to 14 years in 1831 for stealing a furkin of butter and a ham. It was recommended that Edward should be sent out of the country and he arrived in Hobart per the "Elizabeth" in February 1832. He was assigned to the Police Force as a probationary constable, but after being found guilty of being drunk was dismissed and sent to a Road Party, where he was when his wife and family arrived. In March 1833 Edward was back in the Police force but after being found neglectful at his duty for allowing a prisoner to escape out of his cell he was again dismissed and sent to Bridgewater for twelve months. He received a further six months hard labour for not proceeding immediately to Bridgewater and in July was absent from Muster. Cooper received his Ticket of Leave in 1839 and his Conditional Pardon in 1841. He was buried as a pauper at Deloraine in 1881. (2)

In 1834 Amelia Cooper petitioned Arthur to have her husband assigned to her and said that she had had an interview with Capper who had assured her that on her arrival her husband would be assigned to her and be able to support them. Her Petition stated that she had had to support herself "with her needle" and by selling what few valuables she possessed. She stated that she had only proceeded to the Colony "in consequence of the expectations held out to her at the Home Department." (3)

The Petition was forwarded to London by Arthur and passed to the Home Office in November 1834. Mr Phillips made enquiries and found "this Womans statement (to be) wholly at variance with the practice invariably pursued at this office" (4) He goes on to state that Capper had assured him that those who want to go at their own expense were always informed that they cannot live with their husbands and that "no encouragement whatever is given to the applicants except under the Regulations." (5) In April 1835 Arthur reported to Mr Hay in the Colonial office that Mrs Cooper still persisted "that such a promise was made to her by Mr Capper on her waiting upon him in his office in August 1831 in the presence" of a third person. Arthur said that he had no doubt that "Mrs Cooper...has misapprehended some casual expression which had dropped from Mr Capper during her interview." (6)

1. CUS 30 p. 114

2. CON 31/7

3. Reel 958 PC1/82

4. GO 1/17 p. 393

5. *ibid.*

6. Reel 960 PC1/83

APPENDIX 6

Chapter 5 p. 83

Mrs Morrow

When Mrs Morrow and child arrived in Hobart per the "Surry" from Sydney in 1834 her arrival caused consternation on the part of the Government. Mrs Morrow was the wife of William Morrow a soldier of the 24th Regiment who had been court-martialled in Quebec for striking an Officer and sentenced for Life. He arrived in Hobart per the "Moffat". When his wife arrived, William was serving a six months sentence on the Sorell Road Party, after which he was to be returned to his Master. He was not due for a Ticket of Leave and in 1836 was a constable in the Police force. A year later he was given his Ticket of leave for "his exertions upon the late fire at Government house." (1)

In December 1834 Arthur wrote to Stanley pointing out that the arrival of wives and families when their husbands were unable to support them caused considerable problems. If the husband was given special considerations to enable him to support his family "the consequences as to the effects of transportation are most injurious". (2)

This case demonstrated flaws in the scheme and an investigation was held to determine how Mrs Morrow had arrived at the expense of Government outside the usual regulations.

Mrs Morrow had obviously planned the whole exercise, as on the 23 December 1833 she had applied to be sent at the Public expence to Cappoquin, 36 miles from Cork where she intended to live. She obtained a passage from Gravesend to Cork and then received " the usual allowance for herself and the Child from Cork to Cappoquin" from the War Office. (3) This was before her husband sailed for Van Diemen's Land at the end of January 1834 on the "Moffat". Mrs Morrow had obtained an embarkation order signed by Fitzroy Somerset in April 1834 to board the "Andromeda" Female convict ship to Sydney, providing it could "be done without inconveniencing the service". (4) She had been able to embark on the ship even though her name was not on the Official List of wives and families and a preliminary enquiry found that she had "received her passage unknown to any of the Government officers here." (5) On her arrival at Sydney she had been sent to Hobart, at the expense of Government.

From the records it appears likely that instead of granting Morrow a Ticket of Leave immediately he was assigned to the Police Force until such time as he could reasonably be granted his ticket.

1. Con 31/30

2. Reel 960 PC1/83

3. *ibid.*

4. *ibid.*

5. *ibid.*

APPENDIX 6

Chapter 5 p. 87

Mary Wiggins

When James Wiggins was transported in August 1831 his family were placed on the Parish for relief. James had been transported for assault with intent to rob and his Gaol report was bad. He had been in prison before for assault and poaching. (1) He arrived in Hobart per the "Argyle" in 1832 and was assigned to Mr Kermode at Mona Vale. In 1833 the Parish wrote to the Home Office on behalf of Mary Wiggins, to see if an application had been sent by Wiggins to have his family sent out. He had written to her saying he had ample means of maintaining her. The Governor of the Workhouse had applied to the Committee of the Refuge for the Destitute for assistance but had been refused. In 1834 he wrote again and applied for the emigration bounty of eight pounds for Mrs Wiggins and her fifteen year old daughter, under the Female Emigration Scheme. He stated that the Parish was prepared to advance fifteen or twenty pounds towards the cost of the passage and that following correspondence with James Wiggins his Master, Mr Kermode was prepared to pay 30 pounds towards their passage. (2)

Mary Wiggins and her four children arrived on the emigrant ship "Strathfieldsay" in August 1834. Her daughter Jane aged fifteen had received a government bounty of twelve pounds - the cost of a passage being seventeen pounds. By the time Mary Wiggins arrived her husband had left the service of Mr Kermode and had been acquitted on a charge of assault and had a charge of Highway Robbery against him dismissed. On her arrival Mary Wiggins applied unsuccessfully to have her children placed in the female Orphan School and in October 1834 James Wiggins was given his Ticket of Leave, presumably in order that he could support his family. A year later a report from the Assignment Board on the emigrants of the "Strathfieldsay" reported that it was difficult to trace them due to the "defective nature of the return of their distribution." (3)

1. Con 31/46
2. Reel 956 PC1/82
3. CSO 1/742/16027

MRS FOYLE

James Foyle per "Layton" 1827 had been sentenced for Larceny in September 1826 and transported for seven years. He stated that he had an income of one pound per week from his brother and that he had been a clerk in London when he stole a parcel valued at 535 pounds from the Manchester coach.

When Mrs Foyle and her children arrived on the "Harmony" in January 1829 her husband was a clerk with the Government and his application for his family has not been located. The day the "Harmony" docked James Foyle wrote a note requesting permission for his family to land immediately as he could provide accommodation for them. "In the event of its being too urgent a request...an order permitting me to see them will confer an obligation and alleviate the feelings of one whose anxiety can better be supposed than expressed." (1) No communication was permitted until after the Colonial Surgeon had cleared the ship.

On the 4 February Mrs Foyle requested rations for herself and children, or some "additional allowance of pay for her husband's services (at present one shilling per diem)."

(2) Arthur refused the request on the grounds that John

Lee Archer, architect and Colonial Civil Engineer, Foyle's master had endorsed Foyle's application and stated that Foyle was able to support them. Arthur suggested that Foyle should be allowed some time from his office to work for the support of his family. Archer replied that he had understood that Foyle would be assigned to his wife, that he was an excellent clerk and that his removal or time off from the store would cause serious inconvenience. Archer also observed that "Foyle's wife and family were not sent to this country at the expense of Government nor in consequence of my certifying as to his ability to support them. I understand that Mrs Foyle paid the regular passage money. (Note: I should and do doubt this for they certainly came out in a convict ship.)" (3) Arthur also doubted it as if they came out "in a Transport, the expence must have been paid by the Crown, unless some arrangement was made with the Government on this occasion of which I have never before known an instance." (4) James Foyle confirmed that his wife had paid the regular steerage passage money. A friend had undertaken to find a vessel to bring her and family out to Van Diemen's Land for 60 guineas and Mr Kent, formerly of the Colony had made "arrangements with John Henry Capper, Superintendant of Convicts in London, for their passage." (5)

In May 1829 Arthur gave directions that Foyle's family were to receive Rations. Foyle was still not satisfied

and requested that he should receive an extra ninepence per day instead of the rations. He stated that the expence of his family had been greater than he expected and asked for the increase to be back-dated to his family's arrival.

In February 1830 Foyle's family were still receiving rations even though they were not in indigent circumstances nor were they "Objects of Charity." A year later Mrs Foyle and family were on the list for Government Rations and Arthur wanted a review as to the circumstances under which "they have been so improperly continued," (6) and it was suggested that Foyle should either be assigned to his wife or given his Ticket of Leave. Foyle had been removed from the Engineer's Department in December 1829 and he does not appear to have been assigned to his wife. In December 1833 Foyle was Free by Servitude (7) was before the Magistrate to defend a complaint laid against him for failing to provide John Wright, Mrs Foyle's assigned servant with sufficient food, assaulting and beating him.

Arthur had noted: "This Foyle is a most troublesome man."

1. CSO 1/368/8375

2. *ibid.*

3. *ibid.*

4. *ibid.*

5. *ibid.*

6. *ibid.*

7. Con 31/13

MARY ANN SHACKLOCK

Mary Ann Shacklock and her children arrived on the "Lady of the Lake" in November 1829. Her husband John had been sentenced for 14 years in 1826 for embezzlement and arrived in 1827 per "Governor Ready." In April 1828 he wrote to his former employer, Abraham Wills to seek his assistance to enable Shacklock's wife and family to join him. (1) Wills had employed Shacklock for ten years prior to his conviction and blamed his misconduct on "the bad company into which the young man has unfortunately fallen." (2) He stated that he had no knowledge of Mary Ann's family circumstances.

In June 1828 Mary Ann wrote to Peel, Home Secretary stating that she had contacted Capper, who had given her the "printed letter" stating the circumstances under which wives were allowed to go out to their husbands. Mary Ann enclosed an affidavit from John Lakeland, Principal Superintendant of Convicts, dated January 1828 in which he stated that Shacklock's conduct had been exemplary since he had been employed as a clerk and that he was "induced to believe that he will become a useful Member of Society." (3) Mary Ann said that as she was a Milliner and Dressmaker by trade she would be able to support herself if necessary. John Shacklock's application was

forwarded in October 1828. When Mary Ann and children arrived, Shacklock was in disgrace with the authorities. He had applied to marry a convict, Rosina Smith and attempted to exonerate himself by stating that he had written many letters to Mary Ann and having received no reply had presumed that she was dead. (5) The Rev. Bedford pointed out that Shacklock posed as a widower and visited Rosina Smith at the same time that he applied to have his wife and family sent out, thus showing his belief that his wife was alive.

When Mary Ann applied to have her husband assigned to her Arthur did not know what to do. Mary Ann and one of the children were ill and needed the support of their husband and father. Shacklock was not only ineligible for his Ticket of Leave "from the time he had served and from his infamous conduct in applying to marry Rosina Smith" but was unworthy of receiving the indulgence. (6) Arthur suggested that the children should be admitted into the Orphan School and Shacklock allowed to work "after 12 o'clock for his own benefit. Arthur wished it to be understood that "nothing but the illness of his wife and one of his children would have induced me to grant him so much indulgence." (7)

In 1832 Mary Ann petitioned again to have her husband assigned to her. She laid the blame on the Government saying that she had been led to believe that her husband

could support her due to the recommendation received from the Colonial Government. She stated that Mr Peel had personally told her "that her husband would have the indulgence of residing with her." (8) On her arrival, her husband was unprepared and that she had been obliged to rely on the "kindness of some tradesmen who permitted (her) to have a few necessities on Credit." They had become "clamerous for their debts" on finding that her husband was not supporting her. She had sold what she could, her husband's salary of 1/- a day paid the rent and she was destitute. The hardships of the voyage out with a young family, one of whom was sickly and subsequent difficulties had thrown her "into a complete state of despondency." Unable to work her only course was to throw herself on the mercy of the Colonial Government. On 12 July 1832 John Shacklock was assigned to his wife. (9) The official note on the petition stated "A greatly compassionate and distressing case which is so well and properly detailed by the unfortunate writer of this letter." (10)

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| 1. Reel 948 PC1/76 | 2. <i>ibid.</i> | 3. <i>ibid.</i> |
| 4. Reel 240 CD 280/17 | 5. CSO 1/418/9373 | |
| 6. <i>ibid.</i> | 7. <i>ibid.</i> | 8. <i>ibid.</i> |
| 9. Con 31/38 | 10. CSO 1/418/9373 | |

ELIZABETH RATHBONE

Elizabeth Rathbone's husband, John was a convict who "worked the system" beautifully. He was convicted at Warwick Assizes in 1826, sentenced for Life and sent to the Hulks at Portsmouth to await transportation. In June 1826 he wrote to the Rev. Thomas Broomfield (Bromfield), a Justice of the Peace, telling him that there were many men in the Hulks who had been there for periods of up to two years before being transported. Rathbone sought the Reverend's assistance in getting him on the next convict transport "as I am most anxious to go as early as possible in order that I may soon get settled in such a way as to be enabled to obtain the favour of my wife and family to be sent after me." Rathbone had been informed by Capper that influence in the right quarter would hasten his departure and that with good conduct he "shall soon become enabled to maintain my wife and family." (1) The Reverend forwarded Rathbone's petition saying that although Rathbone's dishonest practices rendered him unfit to remain in this Country, he was young, active and wanted to provide for his family, which he was able to do being a scilled agricultural labourer. This application was unsuccessful, as Rathbone was not transported until May 1828 in the "Woodford" which arrived in August 1828. In

February 1829 he applied to have his wife Elizabeth and children Henry, Mable and Edmund sent out to him. His application was successful and an order was sent to the Reverend advising him that Elizabeth, Henry and Mable (Edmund had probably died) were to be at Woolwich on or before 15 May 1830 to board the "Mellish". (3) The family had been in the Workhouse as the Overseer of the Poor of Napton (Warwickshire) conveyed them to the ship.

On their arrival in Hobart the Rathbone family met with problems. Rathbone was assigned to Mrs Humphrey at New Norfolk who had signed his application form. When the family arrived, Mrs Humphrey refused to be responsible for their support as she had been coerced into signing the form. She stated that Rathbone was of a "very dissatisfied disposition" and that she did not wish to retain him. Although Rathbone had left her service without permission, she hoped that no action would be taken against him. (4)

Rathbone wrote to the Colonial Secretary, Burnett and requested to be assigned to his wife, but he was transferred to Messrs Lamb and Bell at New Norfolk. A few months later Elizabeth petitioned Arthur and stated that "by her own humble exertions in taking in washing at New Norfolk where she resides (she) has been enabled to apprentice her children." (5) Mable was placed in service with Col. Dumaresque and Henry apprenticed to Mr Jarvis of

Hobart Town. Her Petition was refused, Arthur stated that "Rathbone cannot be assigned to the wife: it ought to be avoided in all cases" and suggested that Rathbone could be assigned to the Field Police. It seems that he was not suitable and in December 1831 he applied to be transferred to the service of Mr Beaumont as Elizabeth found "her situation at Messrs Lamb and Bell's farm very unpleasant as she is by herself among so many men and under a difficult kind of respectability." (6)

At the end of February 1832 Rathbone petitioned Burnett for a Ticket of Leave. His wife had given birth to their third child and he hoped that if given a Ticket of Leave he would be "enabled by a course of steady and industrious conduct, after a few years has elapsed to provide for his family." (7) On 5 March 1832 John Rathbone received his Ticket of Leave. In December 1833 Rathbone was before the Magistrates for being drunk and disorderly. On the second occasion his Ticket was suspended and he was sentenced to four days on the Treadmill. In 1834 he was again in trouble for destruction of property and assault, was fined and spend one month in the House of Correction. He received his Conditional Pardon in February 1838.

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Reel 945 PC1/74 | 2. Reel 241 CO 280/20 |
| 3. CSD 1/476/10612 | 4. CSD 1/377/8578 p. 336 |
| 5. CSD 1/418/9373 | 6. <i>ibid.</i> |
| 7. <i>ibid.</i> | 8. Con 31/34 |

PHILLIS PARSONS

When Richard Parsons was convicted for stealing ten bushells of coal, which was a second offence, he was sent to the hulk "Discovery" where he served five years and three months before being transported to Hobart per "Prince Regent" in 1826. (1) His wife was on the Parish at Clerkenwell. In July 1832 the Mendicity Society in London applied for Phillis and her four children to be sent to Hobart Town and stated they had procured a "Grant of 20 pounds from the Parish of Clerkenwell." (2) In August R.W. Hay wrote to Arthur requesting that if he should find Richard Parsons competent and deserving he should forward his name on the next List. The application had already been sent, as Arthur had forwarded Parsons' application in July 1832. (3) He stated that Richard Parsons, boatman, had the means to support his family and that they would be no expense to government. Parsons had been "distinctly informed that the arrival of his family will not occasion the extension of indulgence until duly eligible by Regulation." (4)

There had been other influences at work. When Phillis Parsons had received a letter from her husband, stating that he was able to support her, she had taken the letter to the Mendicity Society. They had contacted Lord

Goderich who stated that "since little dependence (was) to be placed upon representations of this kind" he could not send the family without following official procedure.

The Society, who obviously had some influence, had asked the Colonial Office to write to Arthur and enquire "into the circumstances and character" of Parsons, with a view to recommending his wife and family to be sent out. (5)

By the time Phillis and family arrived, Richard should have had his ticket of leave. His record lists many petty offences, being absent without leave, insolence, asleep on duty, being in a Public House and stealing. He had his Ticket of Leave in 1834 and his Certificate of Freedom in 1848. (6)

Parsons was unable to support his family on their arrival as in May 1834 his two children, Henry and Sophie were in the Orphan School and their father was paying six pounds per annum and getting Government support. (7)

1. Con 31/34
2. 60 27 p. 245 - 249
3. Reel 251 CD 280/34
4. CSD 1/679/15019
5. 60 27 p. 245 - 249
6. Con 31/34
7. CSD 5/93/2074

APPENDIX 7a

Captain Maconochie's Scheme for Norfolk Islanders

(with a List of names and addresses of those wives applied for)

As this Scheme was not suggested until 1841 it is outside the time frame for this Thesis. It does indicate the change in attitude which occurred with the authorities in the 1840s and also illustrates the necessity to adjust the scheme with the advent of the Probation System.

Throughout the transportation era there were two opposing ideas on the object of Transportation - was it to punish and deter or to reform the criminal? Captain Maconochie, the Commandant at Norfolk Island, was of the opinion "that the first object of all convict Discipline should be the reformation of the Criminal." (1) Governor Gipps in New South Wales recognised this as a humanitarian view but thought that for Legislators "the first object of Convict Discipline was that it should be a Terror to Evil doers." (2)

Although no women were allowed on Norfolk Island the families were to be sent to Van Diemen's Land to await the arrival of their husbands, once they had served their period of punishment and were ready to be rewarded. Women, particularly wives, were part of the reward and reformation. Besides being a civilising, moral influence they would give their husbands a sense of responsibility and a reason to reform.

Maconochie thought that the desire of men to have their wives and families sent after them was "most important too in the cause both of morality and reform in this whole Hemisphere" but that the men should pay in part for the privilege which would also engender self-respect by making the favor a right.

Captain Maconochie's Mark System was already worked out and he suggested that if a married man agreed to the addition of 2 or 3000 marks, worth between 8 pounds 6s 8d and 13 pounds 10s., to entitle him to have his family sent out "an enormous amount of steadiness and morality would be so gained and a not less amount of individual suffering would be so spared." (3)

Maconochie drew up a List of the names and addresses of the wives of the English prisoners who had agreed to pay 3000 marks towards the expence of the Passage. The reply from Sydney confirmed that as no women were to go to Norfolk Island, the existing Regulations enforced the sending of the wives to Van Diemen's Land to await their husbands' arrival.

As the Scheme came into operation in 1841, towards the end of the first phase, it would be necessary to investigate the arrivals during the second phase to ascertain whether the scheme worked. A perusal of the Black and White side for deduction or crediting of marks shows that it was much easier to acquire Black Marks than Credit marks.

1. Reel 972 PC1/89 1.8.1841

2. *ibid.*

3. *ibid.*

WHITE OR CREDIT SIDE

| Class | Offence | Marks |
|-------|---|-----------|
| 1. | General good conduct for the month. | 1 - 30 |
| 2. | Add on the Report of the Clergyman | 1 - 30 |
| 3. | Saving Government Property from waste or loss. | 20 - 50 |
| 4. | Saving Government Property from wilful destruction or theft. | 50 - 100 |
| 5. | Giving information on any breach of law whether committed or intended. | 1 - 100 |
| 6. | Additional for information respecting an intended Escape from the Island | 50 - 100 |
| 7. | Rescuing any Person from Violence or preventing the commission of violence. | 50 - 200 |
| 8. | Performing any service of danger as a volunteer. | 1 - 200 |
| 9. | Exertions to save Property or life in case of accident, such as fire or ship wreck. | 1 - 200 |
| 10. | Saving the life of a fellow creature. | 200 - 500 |

CAPTAIN MACONCHIE'S MARK SYSTEM ON NORFOLK ISLAND (Reel 972)

RECORD BOOK - NORFOLK ISLAND. BLACK SIDE.

| Class | Offence | Marks |
|-------|--|-----------|
| 1 | Negligence or inattention to orders when at work. Want of cleanliness | 1 - 10 |
| 2. | Negligence or inattention when at work and during Service. Improper or indecent language. | 10 - 20 |
| 3. | Cursing, Swearing or Blaspheming | 20 - 30 |
| 4. | Refusal to obey orders or other insolence to Officers. Holding communion with persons proscribed for having been guilty of unnatural offences. | 30 - 50 |
| 5. | Assaulting or fighting with other Prisoners, Pilfering or Larceny or any of the higher misdemeanors cognizable at Petty Sessions under the 16 and following clauses of the 3 Gul. IV No.3 | 50 - 200 |
| 6. | Using menacing language to Officers or to Prisoners if for the purpose of inducing them to commit Offences. | 50 - 200 |
| 7. | Assaulting Officers though without premeditation or intent to do them serious harm. | 100 - 300 |
| 8. | Robbery from the Person or in any house or building but unattended with violence - all Crimes punishable with Transportation for 7 years. | 200 - 300 |
| 9. | Attempting to escape from the Island. Concealment for the purpose of escape, aiding others to escape, Preparing the means of escape or not giving information of any intended attempt to escape. | 300 - 500 |
| 10. | Sheep or Cattle stealing. Burglary or house-breaking. Wilfully destroying cattle or sheep or other Government Property, all Crimes punishable by Transportation for terms of years above 7. | 400 - 600 |
| 11. | Assaults with intent to do grievous bodily hard, attempting to commit soliciting or exciting other persons to commit unnatural offences. All crimes punishable with Transportation for. | 500 - 800 |
| | Death recorded | 800 |
| | Death passed | 1000 |
| | General bad conduct for the month | 1 - 30 |
| | Add on the Report of the Clergyman. | |

APPENDIX 7b

List and address of the Wives and Families of English Prisoners now held, who wish to have them sent out to them, and agree to pay 3000 marks towards the Expence of Passage.

Mary Hennessey, Back Hill, Cornick-on-sur, Co. Tipperary.
Thomas Hennessey, No. 24. Children 7. Ireland

Catherine Coleman, Mull St., nr Kanturk, Co. Cork, Ireland
Timothy Coleman, No. 22. Children 4

Mary Connor, To the care of Mr Drew, Kilmainham Goal Dublin
Matthew Connor, No. 36. Children 4. Ireland

Rose Trevors, at Jas. Dunn's, Bennet's Bridge, Co. Kildare
Patrick Trevors, No. 35. Children 2. Ireland

Hannah Moloney, Kirma Culleagh, nr. Lanesborough, Co. Mayo
Thomas Moloney, No. 267. Children none. Ireland.

Judith Shaughnessy, Dalligan, Parish of Shiwale, Co. Mayo
William Shaughnessy, No. 271. Children 3. Ireland

Mary Collins, Ballingarry, Co. Limerick, Ireland
Michael Collins, No. 97. Children 3.

Barbara Bushe, Lower Ballinderry, Co. Antrim, Ireland
William Bushe, No. 130. Children 3 (probably 4)

Mary Thompson, c/- Mrs McCabe at Mr Weir's, 4 Gardner's
Place, Ireland?
William Dyers, No. 262. Children 4. Ireland

Mary Dowling, at Joseph Walplates Esq., Castle Cornell,
Co. Limerick.
Richard Dowling, No. 108. Children 1. Ireland

Catherine White, care of Mr Nicholas Hunt, Woollen
Manufactory Milltown, Nr. Dublin
William White, No. 151. Children 2

Mary Grimes, Drumeagh, Parish of Kilmore, care of
Harry Body, Publican, Castle Blaney, for Peter Grimes,
Rapalas, Co. Monaghan.
Owen Grimes, No. 298. Children none. Ireland.

Mary Hart, Parish of Dunnclief, Co. Sligo, Ireland
Daniel Hart, No. 153. Children none.

Louisa Nock, care of John Nock at Mr Gould's, Glasscutter,
No. 3 Charlotte St., Birmingham.
Isaac Nock, Children 3. England.

Jane Brown, at Sir Gerald Aylmer's, Donada Castle,
Co. Kildare, Ireland.
William Brown, No. 76 Children 5. Ireland

Catherine Doherty, Care of Mr Micht Indoney, Coach Builder,
Reach Street, Limerick, Ireland.
Edward Doherty, No. 106. Children 4.

Johanna Lynch, Ballingery, Co. Limerick
David Lynch, No. 90. Children 2. Ireland

Catherine Halfpenney, To the care of Nicholas Melley,
Carrick near Cross, Co. Monaghan, Ireland.
Patrick Halfpenney, No. 163. Children 5

Mary Mores, Little Marlow, Buckinghamshire, England.
William Mores, No. 312. Children 4

Nancy Gloster, Courthouse Lane, St. Francis Abbey,
Limerick.
William Gloster, No. 258. Children 1

Bridget Sheedy, Pound Street, Lenagh, Co. Tipperary
Timothy Sheedy, No. 125. Children 1. Ireland

Eleanor Daley, Parish of Knockbride, Paileborough,
Co. Curran, Ireland
James Daley, No. 6. Children 5

Catherine Taylor, care of Mr Gree, Fearn Street, Tenbury,
Worcestershire.
James Taylor, No. 370. Children 1. England

Amelia Wale, Templegurkin, near Moreton-in-the-Marsh,
Gloucestershire.
Job Wale, No. 367. Children 8

Elizabeth Toole, Rathfarnham Ponds, Dublin
Edward Toole, No. 172. Children None. Ireland

Elizabeth McTierney, Tully's Lane, Cork, Co. Galway,
Ireland
Michael McTierney, No. 237. Children 1

Mary Beattie, Newcliff, care of Jas. Ragliff, Ribbles,
Co. Monaghan.
Alexander Beattie, No. 5. Children 4. Ireland

Mary Anne Coopey, Churcham, near Gloucester.
John Coopey, No. 359. Children 1. England

Anne Stanley, Willow Court, Gonwell Street, London
James Stanley, No. 430. Children 4.

Rachael Haynes, care of Thomas ?, Hallingdon, Middlesex
George Haynes, No. 333. Children 2. England

Catherine Brady, Ashbaugh, Parish of Larrah, Co. Cavan
John Brady, No. Children 2. Ireland

Honorah Power, New Chapel Street, Dungarison, Co. Waterford
James Power, No. 250. Children 1. Ireland

Judith Hurley, Ballporeen, Co. Tipperary, Ireland
Michael Hurley, No. 128. Children 2.

Eliza Powell, Stratford, near Baldock, Bedfordshire
Nicholas Powell, No. 375. Children 2. England

Sarah Francis, care of William Hall's, Blacksmith,
Great Warmingfield, Suffolk
George Francis, No. 357. Children 2. England.

Sophia Dickenson, No. 33 Chichester Place, King's Cross,
Gray's Inn Lane, London.
Samuel Dickenson, No. 302. Children 2

Elizabeth McGroe, at Mr Holdsworth's Factory, Picardilly,
near Broomalvia, Glasgow, Scotland.
James Markness, No. 184. Children None

Mary Browning, near Stroudwater, Gloucestershire, England
John Browning, No. 366. Children 3.

Anne White, Holloway Street, Malmesbury, Wiltshire,
James White, No. 569. Children 1. England.

Note: The husbands of all these wives arrived in Van
Diemen's Land per the "Maitland" and the "Duke of Richmond"
in March 1844 but since this period is strictly outside the
time frame set for this Thesis the arrival of their wives
has not been established.

APPENDIX 7c

A brief introduction to the second phase of the scheme to send the wives and families of convicted men to the Australian Colonies.

Before the first phase of the scheme to send out wives and families of convicted men was brought to a close in or about 1842 discussion had ensued between the Home Department and the Emigration Commissioners. In view of the termination of convict ships to New South Wales, it was not possible to send out the families as had been done previously and some arrangement was sought with the emigration authorities. The Emigration Commissioners stated that no part of their funds could be used for the purpose without creating dissatisfaction in the Colonies.

(1) The problem was that the Colonial Office were not prepared to provide funds from their Revenue and Sir James Graham in the Home Office had serious doubts about the scheme which he felt undermined the efficacy of transportation. (2)

In 1844 when the new system of punishment for convicted criminals was being discussed, one of the areas of concern was that of sending out the wives and families. Lord Stanley suggested that they "should be sent out at the expense of the Parishes to which they belong" (3) as they could no longer be sent out with the aid of the

Government. He suggested that applications should be made to the Colonial Office and that assistance would be given by the Land and Emigration Commissioners.

No further discussion has been located until 1846. The expansion of Port Phillip resulted in problems of imbalance of the sexes and "any addition to the female population was needed" both from a moral point of view and to provide female servants.

The proposal to establish a new Colony in North Australia (Queensland) raised fears for the moral condition of the Colony and Lord Lyttleton felt it would be better to abandon the plan altogether than to found it without women. The old arguments were used "the presence of women would have its natural and healthful effect...the Parental instinct would work powerfully towards curing the depraved." (5) At a meeting between the Poor Law Commissioners, the Home Inspector of Prisons and the Colonial and Land Emigration Commissioners in 1846 some guidelines were drawn up along similar lines to those governing the first phase of the scheme, except that the emigration Commissioners would make the selection and that the Poor Law Commissioners would be responsible for obtaining Parochial assistance for half the fare. It was suggested that the convict should pay a contribution towards the cost, but it was recognised that this presented problems, in that the amount was too small to

warrant legal action in the event of default, the reluctance of individuals to work out a debt and the dispersal of Conditionally Pardoned men made locating them difficult. The money could only be collected from Ticket of Leave men through the Government.

The scheme was resumed in 1847 and the precise conditions have not been researched. Lord Grey had suggested that the proposal should be financed at public cost from the funds allocated for Convict services and in the case of Exiles that the men should pay half the cost.(6)

There were clearly two groups of families during the second phase, those whose husbands had been transported under the assignment system and the recent arrivals, the Exiles. Since their situation and status was different the regulations governing the family re-union scheme had to accommodate both.

1. Reel 976 PC1/902.
2. CO 201/370
3. Reel 977 PC1/91
4. CO 201/369
5. CO 201/370
6. ibid.

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